

THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

25
cents



SATURDAY AUGUST 30, 1969

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PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

KIDNAPPED



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

11 P.5

25T
14T

1. Assign covering officers to the front and rear of the building. *ABLE, Baker, RT, CHARLIE*
2. Two to cover the back *ABLE, Baker, RT, CHARLIE*
3. Four to cover the front (3 south front, 1 north front).
4. These six men would hold position to keep offenders sealed inside building.
5. Evacuate wounded with covering officers laying down fire base.
6. Notify Captain of Patrol and Chief of Police, *Ranking Officer of 4*
7. Notify ranking officer of Service Division to secure the R of S.
8. Notify DO to stand by for questioning of prisoners & general investigation.
9. Request that Wagon, Ambulance and fire truck to stand by in parking lot of Safeway Stores, Russell and Chittuck.
10. Assign traffic posts to divert traffic around scene.
11. Not assigned to fourth platoon.
12. Block Chittuck at Prince and at Woolsey with Police Cars.
13. Use no flares and no personnel left in street.
14. Evacuate nearby homes as needed. *Squad DOG (2)*
15. Order offenders to come out of building with hands up and lay on sidewalk in front of building.
16. Use bull horn or telephone.
17. If this fails.
18. *ABLE CEASE FIRE EXCEPT AT DEFINITE TARGET*
19. Assign two men squad to front with shotgun (solid slugs) and armor piercing rifle to blast armour plate off upper windows. *DOG - 1 shotgun, 1 SHAM*
20. Assign tussan squad in front to launch gas through upper and lower windows. *DOG*
21. *DOG - 1 shotgun, 1 SHAM*
22. Order upper window shields to be shot out, and ~~use~~ use DO back shot to shoot out all lower windows. Use rifle slugs to try and knock open main front door.
23. Notify EMI to stand by to receive wounded.
24. Post shotgun guard at EMI. - Not fourth platoon.
25. Launch in considerable amount of gas and then again order offenders out by bull horn or telephone.
26. Talk out front with hands up and then lay on sidewalk in front of building.
27. If this fails
28. *A B C D E*
29. Front and back squad lay down fire on second floor. Assault squad (three men) armed with sub-machine guns approach building from the south. As they approach all firing ceases. Squad enter ~~through~~ building through front broken out windows or doors.
30. First man cover stairs and no firing unless target is presented.
31. Next two men enter and move to left and to right center of ground floor. Fire 50 rounds each up through second story floor, and reload.
32. By now all shutters should be blown off upper floor windows. The entire building should be flooded with tear gas. The entire upper floor should be covered with intense fire. This should have the necessary effect.

16. Order those able to walk down the inside stairs to the ground floor, covered by the assault squad. Then they will walk out to the sidewalk and lay face down.
 - a. This will be done by bull horn and/or phone.
17. ~~Front~~ Front and rear covering squads remain in position until told to move.
18. Leave one front covering squad on roof and call the other one down to cover prisoners. Leave back squad in position.
19. Assault squad will then proceed upstairs and bring down the wounded and or dead.
20. Ambulance(s) will be called in from Russell and ^Whittuck to pick up wounded and/or dead.
21. Call back squad around to front to assist as needed.
22. One front squad will still remain on roof to cover any attack from the outside.
23. Call wagon down to pick up prisoners.
24. Fire truck called in if needed.
25. Back squad go to H of J to book in and question prisoners.
26. One front squad go to HMI to guard and question wounded.
27. One front squad will remain on roof until we are clear of area.
28. Assault squad search and confiscate evidence from building.
 - a. Call in photographer. *dig up back yard*
29. After all other have gone, front squad pull out. This may take considerable time.
30. Assault squad go to H of J to package evidence, make notes, write reports.
31. ~~Front squad stay in H of J to write reports~~
Back squad at H of J write reports after booking and questioning.
32. Front squad leave ~~HMI~~ ^H and write reports.
33. Remaining front squad ~~leave area~~ come to ^H H of J and write reports.
34. Fourth Platoon ~~and~~ Lieutenant and Sergeants meet to make sure that all has been covered.
35. Fourth Platoon Lieutenant and Sergeants brief staff.

PALETTES - COVER BACK
(BY) 1 - SHOT GUN & LAUNCHER
1. RAY 1 - RIFLE
1. SGT ~~1 - RIFLE~~
RADIO

DOG - COVER FRONT AFTER EVACUATION
2 PAT 1 SHOT GUN + LAUNCHER
1 37 MM GAS GUN

EASY - COVER FRONT AFTER EVALUATING
2 PT 1 SHOT GUN + LAUNCHER
1 37MM GNS GUN

BAKER - COVER S-FRONT
S-RT 1 SHOT GUN
1 RIFLE OR REPAIR
RADIO

CHARLIE — COVER N-FRONT
(3)
1 SHOT GUN + LAUNCHER
1 RIFLE
1 ARIZING
1 RADIO

1. INT. - PATER BUILDING
2. INT. - 40 THOMPSON
3. INT. - OR 2 THOMPSON + 1 SAWED OFF
4. INT. - RADIO



"Masai", Minister of Education

TO THE PIGS OF THE POWER STRUCTURE

The first thing that is necessary is for you to understand is that you don't have us fooled. We know that only a sadist or a lunatic would recognize this madness you perpetrate as "government of the people." We know. We are hip to you.

POLICE DEPT.
HALIFAX, N.S., CAN.

GEORGE SAMS, Jr.; aka Robert Wadell Smith, Detroit George, George Camp, Black George, Smokey; NMA; DOB 2/20/46, 4/22/46, 4/23/46; 5'8" or 5'9"; 170#; blk hair, brn or maroon eyes; 6" scar on rt or lft side extending to back; pock scar corner lft eye; not visible red in white of eyes.

GEORGE SAMS

George Sams, Bootlicker, agent of the ruling class is one more of those shuffling soft shoeing niggers who history seems to recreate time after time to infiltrate organizations of struggling peoples to help the oppressor destroy that organization. George Sams is not only an agent, he is a crazy man who will do anything. He would kill his mama if his master told him to. This may sound like George is a dog, but a dog has more intelligence. Most dogs don't attack unless attacked. George attacked a member of the Black Panther Party with a knife for no reason at all.

One should not be misled into thinking that George is totally dumb. NO! He can follow the instructions of his master to a tee. He has lied for his plate of food. He said just what he was told by his masters the pigs. He placed people in places they were not at. He imagined people doing things that only he knows about. By watching this dog react to certain situations, it's not difficult to see him as a vicious hired killer for the fascist pig power structure.

DYNAMITE

Your "Courts" serve as skill centers to train hypocrites and liars. They are trained in sophisticated techniques of suppression of those who would dissent. Your "Bill of Rights" should be printed on a postage stamp, in triplicate. It would still be the greatest hoax and waste of paper in the history of the written word. Your "Constitution" is too stiff to use as toilet paper and your flag is too un-sanitary to use as a sanitary napkin. Your alleged "men" are perverts and your "Statue of Liberty" is the greatest rape victim in history. Your "God" is manufactured in the U.S. Mint and your "Justice" is measured in profit. Your "Congress" is a swine pin, and your "Assemblies" resemble county fairs. The only thing you have of value to the people are your lives. Your "Military and Police" are in fact mercenaries, gangsters and hired killers. Their contributions to mankind can only be measured in murder and genocide.

Under your rule the progress of technology has in fact been hampered and has advanced only to the equal extent that it served your class as a tool of oppression and exploitation.

In short, you represent all that is foul, depraved and perverted in the history of society, and we would be less than your lowly equal if we were not SUBVERSIVE TO YOUR BULLSHIT.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Masai, Minister of Education
Black Panther Party

BALTIMORE WARNS OF PORK CHOP

Yesterday, August 15, (Friday) 1969, a Black Panther Brother, Sylvester Bell, was murdered by cultural nationalists in San Diego.

In forming coalitions with the various groups, be sure that these groups have drawn a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the cultural nationalists, between themselves and ALL capitalists, and they must do so openly.

As you have heard, Xugunna, of Soul School went out to California to a conference. It would be wise for all Panthers to watch this funky nigger, who runs around hollering revolution, while sticking his hand deeper into the people's pockets. He sells junk that costs him very little for ridiculous prices. He robs the people selling polka-dot bed sheets for \$30-\$50. He is no more than a leech sucking the blood of the people. What is he selling that you can protect yourself with -- spears, drums, or the granny dresses that won't even allow you to make a get away from the pigs without tripping and falling on your face. Teaching black history, that instills pride, but pride does not stop bullets, and it does not keep the pig from beating you upside your head. One needs revolutionary pride, pride that when the occasion presents itself and the conditions are favorable, he will snatch the pigs' head off.

Blackness and dashikis are not the criterion of a revolutionary. A cultural nationalist is not a revolutionary. His mind is too narrow; he can see no further than the nose on his face. As long as his family is well, then he cannot be worried about the rest of the people. This is the attitude that he displays when he preaches that racist line. That is incorrect, that is one-sidedness, selfishness, and a revolutionary must look at the totality of all things and not just a part. Revolutionaries are internationalists, and they know that oppression is everywhere, and that it effects people of all colors.

All Power to the People!
Reeva

older son while he was on the ground, already wounded in the chest.

Through all this turmoil and dismay, Joseph, the younger brother tried to pick up William from the ground and the vicious pigs attacked him with their black jacks and threatened to shoot his sister (12 years old).

The two brothers Williams and Raphael, were taken to the hospital where armed pig guards refused to let anyone visit them. The mother came to the Party for aid because she said, "I have read the Panther Paper once and I believe that there should be an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people here and everywhere." The brothers have not yet been brought to trial, they are still in the hospital.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
OFF THE PIG
Field Lt. Charles Roberts,
Black Panther Party
Staten Island Branch
232 Jersey Street
Staten Island, N. Y.

To the Readers of THE BLACK PANTHER PAPER

Because of the severe repression that the pigs have brought down on our Party in the last week, (and the high ransoms we had to pay), we have had to cut down on the size and circulation of our paper. We weren't able to include all important information or the Los Siete de la Raza section.

If you believe in the freedom of press and in our right to publish the paper that exposes the bullshit that's going on in this country, PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY MINISTRY OF
INFORMATION

3106 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California, 94705

ATTENTION



MELVIN JOHNSON
"JOMO KENYATTA"

The Black Community News Service would like to correct a very serious mistake which appeared in our publication last week, August 23, 1969 (vol. III, No. 18). Page 27 carried a story on "Renegades and Counter-revolutionaries." Included on this page was information and a photo of Melvin Johnson ("Jomo Kenyatta") which stated that he had been expelled from the Black Panther Party, Baltimore branch.

The Black Panther Party retracts that statement, and wants the community to know that Melvin Johnson ("Jomo Kenyatta") is a member in functional standing with the Party.

Right On
D.C.

**HELP CONTRIBUTE
TO THE DEFENSE
OF POLITICAL
PRISONERS
WHEN YOU SHOP
AT CO-OP,
USE NO.34956**

PICNIC

Labor Day Sept. 1, 1969

Given By *Labor Committee*
to *Combat Fascism*

Place: Arroyo Viejo Park
7904 Krause Ave., East Oakland

Time: 12:00 to 6:00 p.m.



Free Food and Drink!!

There will be speakers from the community to commemorate Labor Day and its importance to workers, both men and women! Bring your families and friends!

Power to the Workers

SUPPORT

BOBBY SEALE



Bobby Seale, leader and chairman of the Black Panther Party, is right now fighting for his life. Chairman Bobby was hijacked by twelve cars filled with FBI pigs with drawn guns. He was held on a trumped-up murder charge in connection with an incident in New Haven, Connecticut. Bail was set at \$25,000. The Panthers paid the bail. He was arrested again before he was able to leave his seat in court. We call on all of our brothers and sisters to join us at a mass demonstration to show solidarity with Chairman Bobby. We cannot permit the pigs to rip off yet another black leader.

**Friday Morning Aug. 29, 9 a.m.
at the S.F. Hall of "Justice" -
850 Bryant St. -- S.F.**

DAVID HILLIARD AND "MASAI" HEWITT SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE KIDNAP OF CHAIRMAN BOBBY

AN INTERVIEW WITH "BLACK MONTAGE"



David and Masai

MODERATOR: This is a recording and today is actually Thursday the 21st of August 1969. I have before me here today the latest press release and it says that Black Panther leader Bobby Seale says "He knows absolutely nothing about the Connecticut murder he has been connected with. Mr. Seale was arrested by FBI agents yesterday and held on a murder warrant for the death of Panther Alex Rackley in Connecticut last May. Seale's attorney says, "they will never be able to prove the charges", adding that the arrest was part of Justice Department harassment of Black Panther leaders. Now we've heard from the press. We've heard from his attorney. Let's hear from the Panthers (what's left of them). Let's hear from Mr. David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, and Mr. Ray Masai Hewitt, Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party. Let's hear what the Panthers have to say about this latest arrest of one of their leaders. Mr. Hilliard, welcome to Black Montage and welcome, Mr. Hewitt.

DAVID: Well, I must say that we're lucky to be here after a most horrifying past two days. I used to try to compare history with the events in the life of the Black Panther Party, but what I've witnessed over the past two days has been somewhat indescribable. It's hard to believe. The incredibility of what I've witnessed isn't really as hard to believe as it seems, because it's a reality. It's a reality manifested in the apparent fascism that the Black Panther Party has been faced with since our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, was railroaded off to the penitentiary after attempts had been made to take the man's life. All those events have been compounded by the recent kidnap of our Chairman, Bobby Seale, that took place Tuesday of this week. Bobby was literally kidnapped on Ashby Avenue about 8:00 or 9:00 o'clock, by some 20 or 30 FBI agents with shotguns. They snatched the man out of the car, hurriedly put him into one of their cars and took him to San Francisco City Prison. During that whole sequence they didn't even have a warrant for the man's arrest, and that was brought out in the courts the very next day. The Commissioner stated that they didn't have a warrant for Bobby's arrest; that they were holding Bobby for "illegal flight to avoid prosecution." This is reminiscent of the fugitive slave law where Black people were caught walking down the street after dark and some good White man, some patriot would then take the slave and hold the slave in bondage until the master or the owner of the slave came to claim the property. So that it's very clear. It's just that it's been sophisticated and they use other words. They use petitions and they use the so-called "law" to give validity to the outrage and the fascist tactics that they're using against our Party.

I don't know how much or how many more events like this are necessary in order to make the masses of the people realize that this is just pig persecution, particularly directed at members of the Black Panther Party. And I

think that this is the biggest mistake the pigs have ever made. I'm reminded of the first incident where our Chairman was involved, when they kicked his doors down in Berkeley and planted weapons in his house, arrested him and his wife in their own privacy of their apartment. And this case was thrown out of court. The pigs were shown for what they are: fascists. They have no regard for the law at all. But back to the incident this morning in court. What I witnessed this morning in court was outright fascism. Our Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas, was standing in the corridors waiting to go in the courtroom and one of the fascist pigs on the tactical squad came up with a baseball bat and hit him in the side. Emory never even moaned, then he (the pig) immediately turned around and singled Emory out and they snatched him off and threw him in jail and charged him with "assault on an officer."

MODERATOR: But how could that be? I mean how could they recognize him as being a Panther? Is it that they wanted to pick on any Black man? Or, is it that they recognized him and they wanted to find some reason for arresting him?

DAVID: It's a known fact that the police departments nationally have files on Black Panther Party members, and Emory is very well known in San Francisco by members of the tactical squad because his activity is geared to the San Francisco Branch of our Party. He works in San Francisco and Emory is our artist.

MODERATOR: Now, he was attending the trial, was he?

DAVID: Yes. But even beyond that, I think that the incident that happened in the courtroom compounded what happened to Emory. As we were leaving the courtroom, they were taking Bobby back to jail, after denying bail for him. Jorgen, (I can't pronounce the man's last name. He's a visitor here from Denmark) has been here and has been staying with members of our Black Panther Party. He's a member of the Left-Wing Socialist Party there. He and another member of our Black Panther Party, Jymbo Sudan, the Lt. of Information out in Vallejo, stood up and gave Bobby the clinched fist salute and the judge jumped from his seat (**MODERATOR:** The judge did this?) and demanded the arrest of the two people. So the people were arrested for saluting Bobby. They didn't make any signs. They just held the fists up and they were put in jail for contempt of court, because the judge said that he will not have that kind of action in his court. So, it is obvious that the pigs are out to persecute the Black Panther Party and that they're not trying to hide it. They're not trying to hide it in the streets. They're not trying to hide it in the courts. It's obvious that we've run out of means, that we've run out of places for constitutional redress of our grievances, because it's none applicable to Black people in general, and to Black Panther Party members in particular.

MODERATOR: Was a bail set for Bobby Seale?

DAVID: The bail was denied. The judge said that in Bobby's case that bail was not applicable. Our attorney, McTernan made a request for bail. He used the case of O'Brien, where O'Brien was granted bail, and the judge denied it with impunity. The judge said that the bail was not applicable in Bobby's situation. So it's obvious that they're not planning on giving the man any bail. I think that the only thing that we can do from the outside is to massively mobilize and show the people that we will not stand another day of injustice, not just to the Black Panther Party members, but to all people that are involved in political dissent --

to all people that are only trying to put forth and practice their constitutional rights. And we have to demand this. We have to mobilize. People have to get together, because I don't think that we have too much more time to have interviews. I don't think that they're going to allow us too much time to even walk around on the streets. So I think that this is a situation that demands a response from the masses of the people.

MODERATOR: What evidence do they have that Bobby Seale murdered Alex Rackley?

DAVID: I don't know that they have any evidence. They say that they have a tape recording and that they have an informer that says that Bobby was in Connecticut and that he gave orders to have Alex Rackley murdered. But Bobby was in Berkeley, California a week or better before the man was found murdered, floating in the river, and there's some footage. I know that the news media have footage. We had interviews; we had press conferences prior to the man being murdered. And what they're charging Bobby with is a "fugitive from justice" which is absurd because the man has been right in Berkeley functioning every day as the Chairman of our Party. He's had several press conferences. He hasn't been hiding. The man never even knew that they had a warrant out on him, so that it's absurd for them to say that he's a fugitive from justice. They don't need any reasons any more for kidnapping Party members and putting ransom on them. They just do it because they have power. They have guns. They have the backing of the Mayor. They have the Governor. They have orders from the highest man in the land. They have orders from the President of the United States urging them to

DAVID: And I don't think that it will be publicized because at the press conference, there was not one member of the television media. We called them the day before and made it known that we were having that press conference, and announced what that press conference was all about. We decided we would do some investigation to make sure that they received telephone calls. Television station Channel 4 stated that they had got the news and that they were not coming to the press conference. So we say that this is just another calculated plot to isolate our Party so that they can move to continue their plot for liquidation. And I say that they'll do it by any means necessary and that I know that people recognize, and I know that members of the Party recognize that killing is not beyond the ideas or the means that they have for getting rid of our Party. I don't mean liquidation just by imprisonment, I mean violently removing our Party. They made this known this morning at our demonstration at the City Prison in San Francisco.

MASAI: It was also quite obvious that there was no fear of the press, because newsmen from all over the world were standing in the same hallway that was no more than ten feet long and six feet across. And the pigs were quite ready, quite willing to have the newsmen witness it because it's already been laid down in the edicts from above. The mass media will say no more; the mass media will give the Black Panther Party no more exposure. But we can understand it because what's happened to us is not a surprise. The apathy of some of the so-called progressive elements is not a surprise. We've witnessed,

same thing in courts with the news media there from all over the world, it is quite evident to us that the mass media has been effectively silenced, channeled. We know that all the newsmen who were there saw that Emory had a briefcase in one hand and a book in the other hand, with his hands at his side, and he never moved his hands. If they report it at all, they'll report a scuffle between a Black Panther and one of the fascist pigs from Alloto's tactical squad. And no Panther is crazy enough to attack one of the fascist pigs. I think they've proven (**MODERATOR:** In the court). Yes. In the court. They've proven what they could do at San Francisco and Berkeley every chance they get, and sometimes they make up chances when they get bored. The tac squad's proven themselves. They are men with Smith and Wesson genitals and long wooden sticks for brains. The news media will either ignore it or distort it, I'm quite sure of this.

DAVID: I would like to reiterate on the pattern that the pigs have been using. The plot that they've been using with great genius of calculation is manifested in first of all, them putting a twenty thousand dollar bail on me and then two days later arresting Bobby and putting a twenty-five thousand dollar cash bail on him.

MODERATOR: Well, they did put a bail on him?

DAVID: They put a bail on Bobby in federal courts. We have to make this clear. The federal authorities put a bail on Bobby yesterday for the "illegal flight to avoid prosecution."

MODERATOR: Were you able to raise this bail?

DAVID: We raised that money an hour later. Twenty-five thousand dollars cash money we put up in court. The judge then said that those charges would more than probably be dropped on Bobby, because they didn't have a warrant and that it was obvious that they were only holding Bobby for the authorities in Connecticut. So they were aware that the San Francisco pigs were in the next room before we deposited that twenty-five thousand dollar ransom. But they didn't make it known to our attorney. They took our money and said that they still had Bobby under arrest. We made moves to try to retain the money. They said that we could retain the money within a couple of days. Today is Thursday. We haven't gotten that money back yet. So it's armed robbery. The court system -- the federal courts are criminal. They're using the pigs as a means to suffice the bankruptcy that this country is in, because of their engagement in Viet Nam. So this is just another strategy, another tactic that they're using in order to try and build up their treasury. They're kidnapping political prisoners and putting ransom on them and demanding payment before they release the individuals. Whereas, in our case, they have both the Chairman and our twenty-five thousand dollars and we say that this is robbery. It's kidnap and

the government is criminal. The people have to recognize this, because they cannot get any justice in the courts of America. The courts only service the politicians. The courts are not a place or not THE place for people to take their grievances because they cannot get any justice in the courts. I say that the only way that they're going to get justice is to mobilize to decentralize the police by circulating our petition and by people themselves setting up their own courts, because the courts do not service not only Black people, but they don't even service White people anymore, that take a position against this oppressive system. So that's what it's all about and people have to realize that. And whether they want to realize it

Contd on Next Page



put an immediate end to the activities of the Black Panther Party. And this is not news to people, because I was in Algiers when I read the statement that J. Edgar Hoover said that the Panther Party was one of the greatest threats to the security of America. And this is only telling people that it's necessary to liquidate our organization. And it's being endorsed because the people, the people are silent. The people are terrorized. They're terrorized at the activities of the tactical squad. They're terrorized at the many killings of our youth. Just last week, Jimmy Connors was shot in the back in front of his house, by members of the tactical squad. Nothing has been done about this. So this is just a pattern that they're using.

MODERATOR: Well, it certainly wasn't publicized.

I mean the manifestation that the pigs didn't care about public opinion and the news media, was very clear to me the night that the Chairman was arrested. We were coming from my wedding. I have a 4 year old step daughter that may wife had by a previous marriage. And I looked around and saw all these FBI pigs standing with a shotgun pointing at her trembling -- my four year old girl -- with her hands in the air as they slammed her against the car. And there were people all over the street. It was about a quarter to nine on Ashby and Shattuck. So it's quite evident to me that the pigs didn't care about the opinions of the people, because the pigs know that they have political power that comes out of the barrel of the magnums and the shotguns they were pointing at all of us. And to see them do the

Continued from Last Page

DAVID AND 'MASAI' INTERVIEW WITH "BLACK MONTAGE"

or not, in the very near future, it's going to be made crystal clear to them, because the pigs know that the system is crumbling because they're getting pressure from the outside. And it's not just members of the Black race that are disgusted and turned off with all the oppression and one-sidedness. It's everybody that's trying to move in a manner to change the social conditions that they've been subjected to even on a level of trying to obtain education that would be relevant to people in



order for them to go about life in a normal way.

MODERATOR: Do you see any parallelism between this case and Brother Huey Newton's case? And if so, how, if that is so, you would see no hope for Bobby being released in the near future? What becomes of the Black Panther Party from then on? Do you have any fears yourselves of your own safety?

DAVID: I'd just like to say this. What happened in Huey's case was most certainly an epic in the era of the racist court system, because they railroaded Huey and everybody witnessed that. What happened in Huey's case was an example for Black people in particular that they could not get justice in courts. But I think that what's happening to Bobby right now is the most fascist thing that I have ever witnessed. Because Bobby, first of all as I mentioned earlier, was kidnapped and held for ransom of some twenty-five thousand dollars and that at this point in Bobby's case, the people are holding the man just because they have power to hold him. They're holding the man because he's a member of the Black Panther Party. And they're going to use any means necessary, including physically eliminating members of our Party to get rid of our Party. So Huey's case was an example and it served as an example to show people that there's no justice in the courts.

MODERATOR: You spoke about the need for public support. How do you see the public actually supporting your efforts to fight this fascism? Only recently you had a bit of United Front versus Fascism thing going. Do you see the same people who attend that rallying together or are you calling for a new United Front?

DAVID: No. We're calling those individuals, and we're calling on individuals that we didn't reach. Because things are always moving from a lower to a higher level and there are people that did not make the conference that have fallen victim to the same kinds of things that we were talking about during the duration of that conference.

ference, and that's fascist tactics. We need to expand that into an appeal to the people that missed the conference. Because the only way that I see that we could possibly put an end to the kind of terror, the harassment, the oppression that we're subjected to is to decentralize the armed bodies that carry out the will of the ruling class and this is the police. The community police need to be removed. The people in the community need to control the police. The police are not there for the benefit of the people. You have numerous examples that the pigs are not there to protect the people. The pigs are outrage. The pigs are fascists. They're madmen. They have no regard for human rights. They don't have any regard for anything except those Smith and Wessons, or the .357 magnums that Brother Masai mentioned earlier in his statement. So it's obvious that there is nothing that we can do peacefully anymore. We have to move. We have to move in the same fashion that they move in. And that's to pick up some guns. We have to pick up some guns and we have to demand some justice because we're not going to get justice any other way. Justice has never been rendered to people because they were passive and because they begged for it.

MODERATOR: You spoke about liquidation of the Party earlier. Do you not see picking up guns as being the surest way of the establishment being able to liquidate the Party more rapidly?

MASAI: No. That's not anywhere near the way we see it. The way we see it is that the pigs are going to do what they're going to do to the Party regardless. We can make it easy or we can make it difficult. It's inherent in the nature of this system. The arrogance displayed towards the people in the courtroom today was the most blatant arrogance I've ever seen. And I've been in court houses all through the country. I've attended many trials.

MODERATOR: You mean that they're showing aggression towards you when you're not showing it, so it makes absolutely no difference whether you show it or not. They'll still try to liquidate the Party?

MASAI: Did Martin Luther King show it?

DAVID: One thing that's evident and apparent here is that the Black Panther Party's Chairman, Bobby Seale, was not armed when they invaded the man, when they storm trooped upon the man and snatched him out of the car and rushed him off to jail. So that it's not true to say that advocacy of self-defense will cause the repression to become more tantamount, because I think that it's at the maximum now. There's not very much more that they could do to the Black Panther Party members except liquidate them, because they've violated every constitutional right that we have.

MODERATOR: One more question before you leave us, gentlemen. How was Bobby when you saw him this morning?

DAVID: Bobby understands. Bobby is the leader of our Party. He's the Chairman of our Party. He knows and he's taught us about the attitude and the ways of the system, so he's not at all surprised. But, of course the man showed some signs of disgust because of the manner that he's being railroaded off into the prisons. Because, as I mentioned, and I have to keep reiterating this, that the man was kidnapped. He was kidnapped off the streets of Berkeley and thrown in prison. And the man is a political prisoner. They're holding the man without any bail so it's obvious that they're not planning to let him go.

MODERATOR: Now, since the time is running short, is there any one thing that you would like to add?

Is there anything that you would like to leave us with, any particular thing that you would like to say?

DAVID: I want to re-emphasize on the masses of the people circulating that petition in San Francisco and in Berkeley and in Oakland to decentralize the forces of oppression manifested in the fascist pig police. That's the only means, the only legal means that the people still have. They have one more chance to work within the legal framework of the system, and that's through circulating that petition. And I say if they can get past that petition, then maybe there can be some peace in America, but I'm not sure about that. I think that the petition will probably cause more problems than the Black Panther Party has caused up to this point. Because that petition is moving against their jobs and that they're going to exert extreme force.

MODERATOR: Now just one last question before we leave. Since most people are unable to attend the trial of Mr. Bobby Seale, how does Mr. Bobby Seale plead? DAVID: Bobby pleads not guilty. The man is not guilty of any crime. It is obvious that he's not guilty of any crime. He's not guilty, and the people know that he's not guilty, and we're asking the people to come to Bobby's support.

MASAI: And the pigs know it too. That's why they chose a courtroom this morning with 26 seats in it.

MODERATOR: So Mr. Bobby Seale pleads not guilty. Mr. David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party and Mr. Ray Masai Hewitt, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, it was a pleasure having you. Good luck, gentlemen.

MASAI: By the way, as a closing thought, we should mention that the

Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, has got to raise seven thousand dollars in collateral to go along with the swindle that they pulled on him by Monday morning or he'll be in jail. It's just part of the shotgun pattern of attack that they're using against the Party. This is for the April 6th case in which he's already been acquitted. He won the case. Now he's being tried again. It's double jeopardy. Warren Wells is into his third trial. He's been tried twice. Both times he had a hung jury -- ten to two for acquittal the first time, eleven to one for acquittal the second time. Warren Wells is being tried again.

MODERATOR: Are you saying that the Chief of Staff, Mr. David Hilliard, with whom we've just been speaking is likely to be arrested any day now, if he doesn't have enough money to cover the bail?

MASAI: If seven thousand dollars collateral in bail is not raised by Monday morning, he will be in jail. That's part of the swindle.

MODERATOR: So he needs seven thousand dollars in order to stay out of jail. But how do we know they won't revoke that, they won't say, "we don't want the bail. We put the charges up" or something? Because that's what they've done to Brother Bobby.

MASAI: They might. But we're going to go at it seven thousand dollars at a time. We're facing a swindle. That's just part of a grand scheme.

MODERATOR: I see. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Ray Masai Hewitt. And I hope that YOU will be with us next time on Black Montage. It seems that you're all sort of disappearing.

MASAI: It's not magic.

CHAIRMAN BOBBY IS BEING FRAMED!

Malcolm X lived and was killed for the liberation of Black and other oppressed people. Each year, those who understand Malcolm's contributions remember him on his birthdate, May 19th. On that day this year, Chairman Bobby Seale was invited by the Drama Department of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. He accepted the invitation and was received there by an overflow audience. As a recognized political leader, Chairman Bobby received an honorarium which he gave to the New York Panther Party for the defense of the N.Y. 21.

While in that area, the Chairman visited the New Haven Party Branch to see how the Party there was doing. He spoke to the leader in that area, Ericka Huggins, the 21 year old wife of John Huggins, who was assassinated last January 17th, at U.C.L.A. The Chairman then ended his visit and returned to California the following morning, the 20th.

Pigs of every stature, from little local uniformed Bay Area pigs to bigger and older pigs like J. Edgar Hoover, have been for some time now trying to move on the top leadership of the Black Panther Party, because as J. Edgar puts it, the Black Panther Party presents the greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S. In a collective criminal and last-stand effort, all the pigs joined hooves and used the Chairman's well-publicized trip to make

an attempt to incarcerate and hopefully murder by law the Chairman of the Black Panther Party.

Two days after the Chairman returned from Yale, pigs found a body in the back woods of Connecticut. They, in true vigilante style, crashed in the Panther Party house and headquarters in New Haven, arresting 9 persons in connection with the death of the body they had found. (They subsequently dropped the charges on one of the original nine persons, Sylvia Spurlock Kimbro.) The remaining of the original 9 persons are charged with murder, kidnapping, whatever. Two of those arrested were 15-year old sisters. The others were: Ericka Huggins, Warren Kimbro, Frances Carter, Peggy Huggins, Rose Smith, and George Edwards. Since that time, three other persons (Landon Williams, Rory Hith, and Lonny McCucas) have been arrested on similar charges. And now, finally, the pigs have stretched out to their most ridiculous point. They have arrested Chairman Bobby Seale in connection with this alleged murder in New Haven, saying that he was there around that time and "ordered" the alleged act.

The pigs, with their limited mentality, really intend to make the people believe that Brother Alex Rackley was in fact killed, and that he was killed by Panthers, ordered to do so by the Chairman. But it's only they who are stupid. Because the people

are asking questions. Why has there not been, in the entire 3 months since the original arrests, a preliminary hearing in which the defense could see and hear the supposed evidence the pigs have? Why has there been no coroner's inquest so that the identity of this body the pigs say they found could be determined, and so that the way the death occurred could be stated? Why have all the Discovery Motions attorneys have made, in which all the "evidence" must be shown, been denied? Why did the pigs wait three months before arresting Chairman Bobby if they had real evidence? Chairman Bobby is certainly not difficult to locate. Why is the only so-called evidence the pigs talk about having is a supposed taped interrogation of Rackley by Panther members? And why has not one defense attorney even seen, much less heard this alleged tape?

There are many questions, and the people are asking them. And the people know that the arrest of Chairman Bobby Seale has been the shoddiest, weakest, most astinine attempt that the pigs have made to date in their daily attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party, and to silence the voice of the people when they make known their just grievances. Well, we're not going for this any more than we accept any of the pigs' madness. And the people aren't going for it either.

A LETTER IN SUPPORT OF BOBBY

August 22, 1969
To Whom It May Concern:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of \$100.00 to be used in the defense of Bobby Seale or any other Party member facing charges of a criminal nature.

It is obvious that the police forces of this nation intend to comply with the power structure's demands to obliterate the Black Panther Party; it is therefore the duty of the people -- all the people who believe what they were promised about freedom and justice -- to come forth with whatever aid and support they may have available.

I shall continue to support the Black Panther Party in their struggle for the freedom of the people. You're doing it for all of us, baby, so we owe you something.

It is important that the leaders of this organization are free to take care of business; if they are not, the Party is going to take the blame for all kinds of irresponsible and irreversible damage to the Revolution.

Power to the People.
Sincerely
Friend

NEW YORK'S TOMBS OF TORTURE

The state is the instrument of violence used by the ruling classes (Rockefellers-Duponts, Hershey-Hoover, scabs Meaney and Reuther, Mafioso Marchi-Procaccino, Lindsay-Badillo, lackey pig D.A.'s Hogan-Roberts) to crush all resistance put up by the masses of people ruled by them (Free Breakfast for Children Program, Free Health Clinics, Liberation Schools, United Front Against Fascism, Revolutionary Labor Movements, armed struggle). The rulers use troops, policemen, spies, law courts and PRISONS against the oppressed and exploited peoples. The exploiting classes in power on the one hand are always employing violence to keep down the exploited classes. On the other hand, they use their "thinkers" to spread pacification programs and the theory of "non-violence" (anti-poverty programs, Welfare Department, Board of Education, Medicaid) in an effort to cause the exploited to be resigned to their destiny without resorting to violence to resist the exploiting classes in power. Capitalism has turned life upside down. Fascism has crushed life through its pig system and pig agents. Everything associated with its institutions is vulgarized and brutalized. These are irreconcilable contradictions between classes. In New York City the contradictions are everywhere and in everything.

The "tombs" is the New York City Jail where 3 of the Panther "21" are being held for \$100,000 ransom each, and is the essence of these contradictions. A medical examination of one of the 3 brothers, Lee Berry, was demanded and won by the Panther lawyers. Once inside the tombs, the contradictions were really 'outside.'

"I was very groggy and sleepy, see. I didn't know what was happening. They must have tried hard to get me up for 4:00 p.m. check because my sheets and clothes were all torn. I couldn't wake up, you know. The medicine they gave me for my epilepsy made me dizzy and sleepy, terribly dizzy. When I could figure out what was happening, because I was really out, I said to the guard, 'What are you doing?' He just opened my door, took his blackjack out and hit me. He just hit me and I wasn't doing anything! I started to bleed really heavy. I tried to stand up, but I was still so groggy from the pills they had given me, I fell back. I couldn't believe it. You wouldn't believe it. But you've got to! The things that go on, people just wouldn't believe. They kill guys in here. They kill them. Guys are sick, terribly sick in here. You know like I've got epilepsy, but there are brothers in here that have 2 seizures a night and nobody sees them. No doctor comes. If anyone says anything, the captain comes and he always brings the 'Goon Squad.' The goon squad comes before the doctor. They go in and beat the shit out of the brothers for nothing."

Lee Berry poured the contradictions out. He had been in jail for 4 months. During that time he had 8 seizures. He recalled only that he would begin to snort, then, no memory. We understand that seizures come from some kind of irritation of the brain, some explained, most not. In Lee's case, this irritation causes him to fall unconscious in spasms, cutting his breath short, clamping then relaxing his jaws so that his teeth come together with blind and grinding power. These fits may last a minute or they may go on for 30 minutes. There is very little a doctor can do to stop the seizure once it has taken hold of the person's nervous and muscle systems. A doctor's job is to prevent the seizures with medicine that soothes the irritated brain, that lowers the sensitivity of the abnormal discharge. The doctor must always be on the lookout for in-

jury after a seizure has occurred.

Brother Berry told me that he had regained consciousness in his cell twice before, laying in a pool of blood from his bitten tongue. On several occasions, Lee had regained consciousness and faced the goon squad of 10 to 15 armed pigs who had been called.

Everyone knows Lee has epilepsy. He began having seizures in jail because the pigs stopped giving him medicine despite the fact that it was clearly marked on his medical chart. But the pig and the pig doctors do not care about life. They do not care about our brothers and sisters. They only relate to "law and order." Lee has only seen the doctor 3 times since he has been in jail. On 2 occasions his condition got so bad through pig negligence that he had to be moved to the hospital.

up with clubs and beat the shit out of you for nothing. They kill you for nothing. They have killed two guys since I've been here. One guy they reported in the newspapers had a brain tumor and hit his head against the bars. They killed him with their clubs."

"The food here is so bad you can't imagine. I weighed 205 when I came in. I can't eat the shit they serve. Animals get better food than they give us in here. Some of the guys are so weak that I give the food away when its decent. Whenever I get medicine and there are brothers in here that have terrible seizures, I give it away. You know a lot of addicts come onto the 10th floor and they go through hell. Many of them have had bad seizures and I know my medicine helps. So I give it away because they don't get anything.



Lee Berry, N.Y. 21

I asked him what kind of pills the pig doctors had given him. He replied that he only got medicine for severe crises and not regularly. Lee's record confirms this. There is a clear order to give the brother Dilantin and Phenobarbital, yet there were only 12 entries that he had been given pills since his kidnapping.

"I actually got better care than the other brothers here. Some of them are so sick! They are so sick! Tell the people outside how bad it is in here. There are some brothers that have epilepsy so bad and the doctor never comes. Nobody comes and the brothers are left to lie in their own blood and filth. The toilet is a white nasty filthy bowl and we have nothing to clean it with, so we have to rip up pieces of sheet to wipe up the toilet. You can imagine putting from 2 to 4 guys into a little cubicle with bunk beds to live together with the toilet in the cell so they don't have to take you out to exercise. Most of the brothers that come in are really sick and many badly beaten up. They never see doctors. A guy will come in with a big cut. They let that cut get completely infected before they do anything, then they send the brother to Bellevue. If a guy gets sick enough they put a bandage on him. Before they ever change the bandage it rots like everything in here. The pigs don't care; they just don't care about life at all. "You know, I work to educate the brothers so that they will all understand how fascism kills, like the hogs create conditions to send the goon squad in. They collect these pigs from all over the jail and they come

There are so many people here that are so much sicker than I am. I've got to do something. The prisoners have to learn to take care of each other. We have to learn how to doctor each other to survive."

"Everybody here has athlete's feet. You can't help it because you have to take a shower together and the pigs let the shower get sickeningly dirty. I got my athlete's feet from the shower floor. That's where it comes from"

As Lee went on he became more precise in his descriptions. At first the brother hesitated, and stumbled as he spoke, as if trying to revive talking again. He explained this to me by saying that no one could really be trusted in the jail because provocateurs are always placed in their midst. Even at its essence, fascism is on the defensive. Lee described how he had repeatedly explained and broken down situations to the inmates of the prison. He had dedicated all his time to raising the political level. He said to me, "They are ready, they are ready to die if they have to. They understand when the pigs came in and hit me when I was drugged. All of them started beating on their bars and screaming 'All Power to the People.' It was beautiful; it was beautiful!"

"You learn in jail that fascists DON'T GIVE A DAMN ABOUT ANY LIFE! Everybody here understands that. Because the contradictions are so heavy, everybody here has high spirits. We are gonna take care of business in here. I don't know when, or exactly how it's gonna come, but believe me, we're gonna take care

of business!"

Lee told me that he could not get any information from the outside except from the lawyers on the very few occasions he had seen them. He didn't really know anything since he had been put in jail. I began running the essence of things to him, trying to recall all the changes, the growth of the Party after the bust in April, the emergence of a solid revolutionary class struggle line which was being put into practice. I described the profound success of the United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland, the people that came, the criticism, the triumphs, the spirit of the assembly. All the while, Lee just soaked the information up. Every little thing fit into his head as if a space had been waiting that only had to be filled up and was long overdue. The thing that moved me was that even though I presented both sides of the story, to show as many of the contradictions as I could objectively communicate, the brother's grasp was that of a seasoned practitioner that understands intuitively that the very struggle at its bleakest is the point of departure for a reversal, for a new level of consolidation.

I told him that the circulation of the Black Panther Newspaper had jumped after the bust from 800 to nearly 15,000 in New York in less than 2 weeks.

Our discussion became more and more excited and both of us began skipping over words and skimming situations in perfect unity. Finally, after 1 1/2 hours, the pig captain that had been posted in the visiting room came over and told us that we had to finish the session, that we had taken up a lot of his time. The pig looked drugged himself, fearful, cowed like some sort of mindless robot who functioned with no reason other than the program fed into him. Not a man any longer, lifeless, flat, lost. Lee and I both know that the only thing that could arouse this pig was blood lust, violence that could be run on the defenseless caged men who had resisted the ugliness of our capitalist system and who continued to demand their human rights.

This is a lesson in dialectics. As Chairman Mao says, "We have to study particularity of contradictions and know the particular essence of individual things before we can adequately know the universality of contradictions and the common essence of things." State violence in the jail is the particular. Everything that goes on in the jail is set up to vamp violently on people. It is supposed to be accepted by the masses as necessary. It's true racist and oppressive nature are hidden from view behind multiple barred doors and hidden stone cages. It is solely organized to crush and separate people from one another. It is essential to the state to have prisons which it uses against anyone who objects to being oppressed on the streets. But it creates such violent conditions and acts, against the people, to squash political struggle against the state that it sets up the development of its own destruction. It forces all those brothers and sisters within to become socialists and revolutionaries to survive. It shows the naked organization of fascism which lies at the heart of capitalism, which makes it function by violence against the people. Now, dig it, the universal is in unity with the particular. If we understand the essence of the state prisons then we must understand the essence of the state also. This is what Marx was running down when he said, "The state as a whole (the universal) is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another, its aim is the creation of "order" which legalizes and perpetuates the oppression by moderating the collisions between classes. When

Brother Berry and the bloods in the prison demand human rights, the same ones held by the pig structure by force of arms, the pig structure comes down not just once, but sets up a continuous system of violence to make people think a long time before demanding anything! As long as the violence goes on behind stone and steel walls, those collisions between the oppressed classes and the pig fascist structure are hidden. The people go on thinking there is a harmony between jails and the community. The Black Panther Party in Point # 8 of their program says: WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACKMEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY JAILS. And check where this leads to. When the jails are full, when the pig thinks that he has enough guns and punks and renegades to bring the shit into the open, he moves. . . but the people, they move too, despite the pigs' counter-revolutionary violence. Whether we are talking about the jail or we are talking about the state, if we look closely, we are running down the same situation, the same relation between fascist violence and liberation struggles of the masses.

Lenin ran it down: "The liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class." The state's jails fill up with revolutionaries who intensify the contradictions and take their struggle to a higher level from the violent repression on the inside, while the liberation struggle intensifies on the streets and constantly moves to a higher level -- more people working together against a common enemy, in more definite ways that will destroy that class forever that lives by violent exploitation. "All counter-revolutionary violence will be met with revolutionary violence."

Lee said, "Tell everybody out there 'POWER TO THE PEOPLE'. Tell them we love them; we know that they are fighting and they have got to keep on fighting. Tell them we love them and RIGHT ON!"

All Power to the People
Free All Political Prisoners
William Bronston, M.D.
Frantz Fanon Health Group

FREE THE NEW YORK 21

A GREAT MAN

A great man does not labor for himself.
Rather he labors for his people.
He does not seek material commodities.
Rather he seeks freedom for his people.
He does not eat to satisfy his physical body.
Rather to satisfy his soul.
He does not carry the guilt ridden banner of false ideology.
Rather he is saying,
Power to All the People

O. D.
16 years old
Incarcerated for 8 months.
22 months to go.
Youth Training School
Ontario, California

WHO'S ON THE PEOPLE'S SIDE

It has become very necessary for all people of good will to examine some of the events going on around them, make an analysis, and last, but not least, to act on the knowledge acquired.

A record breaking amount of mis-information and confusion has been perpetrated about processes and events that will eventually effect the lives of everyone on the Planet Earth. Some of the issues which seem so unclear to so many are the definitions and the realities of culture, Blackness, liberation, revolutionaries, and revolution. But there is much to be learned about all these things in the history of the liberation struggle of Afro-Americans, and the history of the Black Panther Party.

It is a very difficult task to unravel the confusing bundle of mis-information amassed by the pigs of the Federal Government (U.S. Imperialism) and co-signed for as the gospel truth by its "endorsed" spokesmen (Toms). The U.S. government on its own is the greatest single perpetrator of bullshit in history and mis-information is the basis for fouled up ideas. But the endorsed spokesmen are bootlickers with a degree of sophistication that may at first be unrecognizable to the political laymen. When the endorsed spokesman does his "song and dance" for the Omnipotent Administrators of the power structure, he usually has some side-kicks best described as "avaricious fools" and "political cave-dwellers." This gruesome threesome will often appear as harmless and comical to those with a minimal degree of political awareness, but in fact, they are extremely dangerous.

The broad daylight, brazen murder of Panther Sylvester Bell in a crowded San Diego shopping center is proof of the danger of those among the ranks of the people who are politically backward, opportunist or out-right traitors. An isolated incident taken out of context should not be used as an example or a basis for drawing conclusions. Therefore, to understand the political implications reflected in the murder of Sylvester Bell it is necessary to delve deeply, to investigate, and to admit a few facts that we may or may not find unpleasant.

Fact: There have been many Panthers killed and wounded since the inception of the Party. There have been many Panthers jailed, framed and beaten. The pigs of the power structure have raided, shot-up, burned and bombed many of the offices and homes of the Black Panther Party. They have jailed, murdered, and driven into exile some of the leadership. This is exactly the history of all liberation movements. At the same time this same government finances "Papa Doc," "Ky," "Tshombe," financed, inspired, sponsored, and protected the political perverts known as CULTURAL NATIONALISTS (even in the prisons). The genuine Grade-A cultural nationalist is the avowed enemy of the "white man", the champion of African Culture, and a most astute student of "Black History." He may also be found professing undying love for his people.

This unholy wedlock between the U.S. Government and the "patron saints of blackness" may at first seem, to most observers, a strange relationship but a closer look is needed. The cultural nationalist may either loudly champion everything Black and attack or negate everything that is not Black. Black-art, Black-talk, Black-think, Black-be, Black-consciousness, Black-buying, Black-selling, Black-soul, and Black-CAPITALISM. All these are good things to the politically backward rank and file among these "cultural" organizations. It does not matter what support any kind of capitalism is to oppose the national liberation struggles of Africa, Asia, North America and Latin America. For a person geared to race struggle and not class struggle, it's impossible to understand

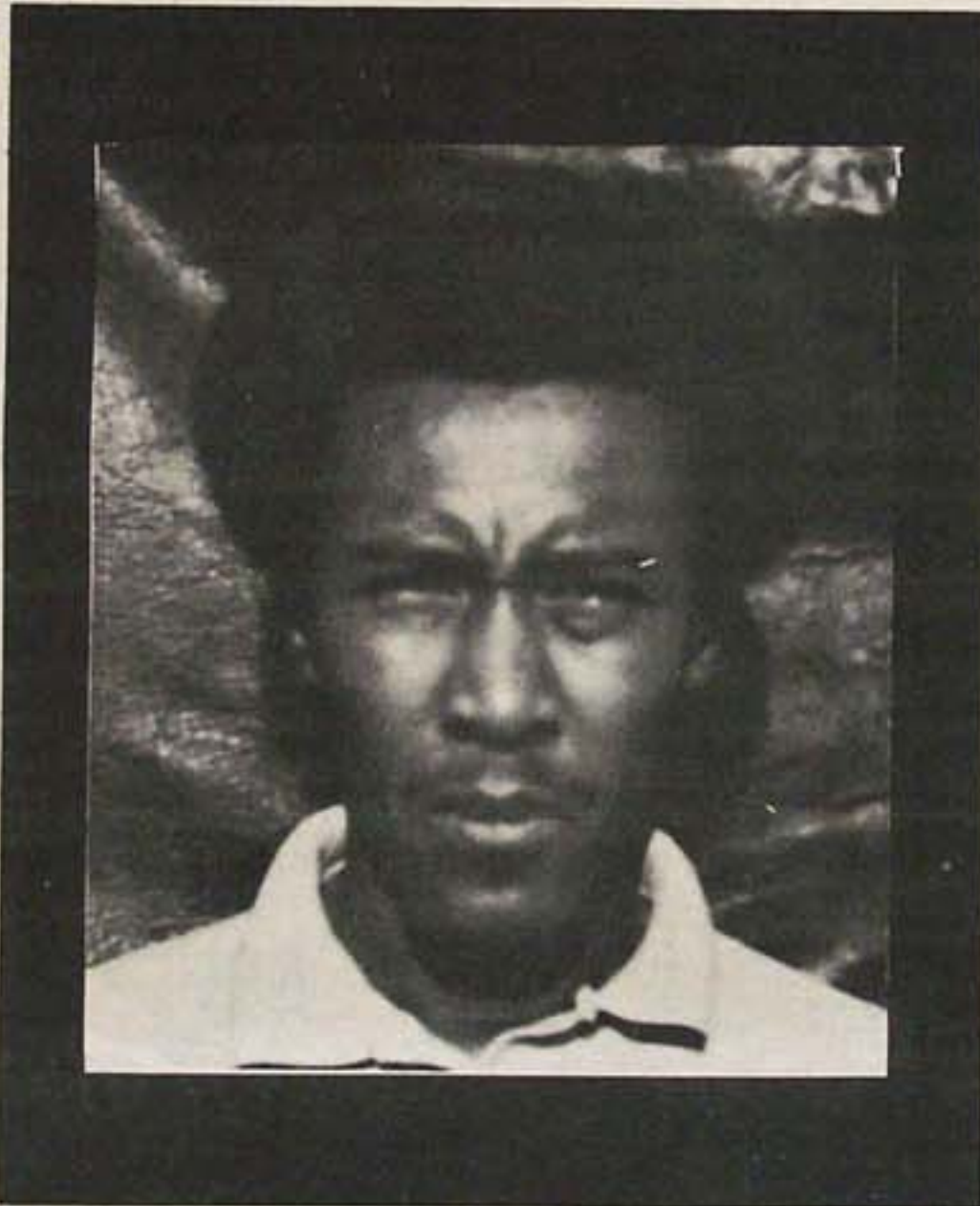
the contradictions, let alone resolve them. It is Black and that is enough. Those who deem themselves Black militants and those who deem themselves "conservatives", all have a unity of action, if not a unity of rhetoric, on at least on thing, a "Black piece of the action." Those who don't openly beg and snivel for their issue of "capitalism" (like Donald Warden) evade the issue and hide behind dogma about culture, awareness, and fancy "Black" word-salads. But social practice is still the criterion for truth. The reality is that anyone who champions any kind of capitalism whether it be "Uncle Roy" or Charles Kenyatta is aiding the capitalist camp.

The question should be investigated: Do the "Simbas" of bootlickin' traitors like LeRoi Jones and Ron Karenga have any similarity to the "Simbas" of the Congo? In financing, in supplies, in training, in goals, in attitudes towards capitalism?

Do the so-called "Mau Mau" led by Charles Kenyatta have anything to do with the brothers in Kenya who struggled long and hard against just such people as Rich Pig Rockefeller? Strange that

idealistic dreams are propped up as a blueprint for "Black Revolution." True, it would be nice if all Black people were on the same side; it would have been great if all yellow people were on the same side in China, Korea, or Vietnam. All oppressed peoples have had the alternative to sit and wait for an all encompassing national or ethnic unity, or move with what they had and deal with all who stood in the way of their liberation regardless of race, nationality, or creed. The fact is that all Black people will not be on the same side. There will be puppets who are champions of the capitalistic status quo, (as Ky is doing in Viet Nam). There will be compradors (home-boys turned bootlicker) as there once was in China. There will be murderers and butchers championing negritude as "Papa Doc" is doing now in Haiti. There will be hired killers for U.S. capital championing a new "African great society" as the murderers of Patrice Lumumba did in the Congo.

The facts speak for themselves; race riots cannot solve class problems.



Sylvester Bell

Charles Kenyatta and his boys could act as Rockefeller's bodyguards at the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King.

The things that go on under Fed-and big business sponsorship in the name of Blackness, are a monument to the scurviness of all the Uncle Toms in history. There is the semantic madness that goes on as the masters of rhetoric loosely interchange the word "Black" and "revolutionary" with such rapidity and ease until one almost becomes synonymous with the other. To the politically aware, this word game is as dangerous as it is humorous, but many of the rank and file "cultural types" believe this shit. There are many brothers caught up in this psycho-cultural-mind-trap who's knowledge of "revolution" and "liberation" is in reality a quest for a massive race riot. The fact that the ruling class of America has for a couple of centuries instigated and fostered more race riots than anyone as a desperate means of perpetuating a system that is long overdue for the trash-can of history, seems to have escaped these "revolutionaries."

In this same razzle-dazzle fashion, the questions of "unity" fouled up. History is ignored while

These super-Black cultural types are as tricky as Black Confederate soldiers, and it is not easy to see some of the shit they spread until it is too late. One of the most dangerous notions spread by well meaning fools and traitors is the notion of "guerrilla warfare" by a bunch of clowns acting out of fouled-up, idealistic notions of black mystic. This kind of misconceptions will produce Go-rillas or Karengatangs, not "guerrillas". The idea of guerrilla warfare divorced, separated, or apart from some kind of ideological guidance based on dialectical and historical materialism is a fable of the a-political, a dream for the foolhard, and a joke to the power structure.

Again an objective look at the reality of liberation struggles can be used as a guide to distinguish between right and wrong, serious business and bullshit. Such an investigation leaves us searching for a protracted people's war guided by negritude. We will strain all our senses and yet not find any record of a "National Liberation Front" guided by "Black awareness", nor can any of the best scientific equipment unearth a people's liberation army guided by mystic "Black ethos". In the end the only "revolution" insti-

gated or guided by "cultural enlightenment" to be found anywhere will be the struggle between two or more backward ideas inside the hairless dust filled head of some culturist trying to pass himself off as something political.

The Black Panther Party has as the ideological basis for its being-- The Ten Point Platform and Program. In that Program, point number five states, "We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society." To fulfill this requirement means that any education must be relevant to our objective situation. Our situation is raped, murdered, lynched, burned, shot, enslaved, oppressed, exploited. It is well known what our situation has been and still is. What is little understood about these realities is that the root cause of this was not our Black skin but the True American God: the \$Dollar Bills\$. True, some who, out of racist ignorance, heaped atrocities upon us stood, in the final analysis to lose rather than to profit. But those who were, and are in the control of the overall situation have always had one main goal -- to make MONEY. A look at history shows that this special group, this ruling class has never been squeamish about who they mess-over as long as it paid. Any racism perpetrated by this same ruling class was posed as "scientific fact" or "gospel, good-book truth," but it was in fact a principal means for insuring the weakness of all whom they would oppress. We understand that we have two evils to fight -- capitalism and racism. We rightly view one as "cause" (capitalism) and the other as "effect" (racism). The Black Panther Party knows that racism has always existed in lower forms, but that capitalism has institutionalized, commercialized, and mass-produced racism to such a high degree that it is today sometimes thought of as a separate entity. This misconception is fostered by the ruling class. Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon have all made statements that racial strife and racism are America's number one problem. The same ruling class pays bootlickers like Karenga, and Jones to say the same thing. Stokely Carmichael has made similar statements. The Black Panther Party believes that America's number one problem is capitalism which manifests itself as fascism at home and imperialism abroad. We know that the reason Black people in America have been messed-over is that this treatment resulted in large profits for the ruling class. We see that racism served as the ideological justification and as a divisive tool. We do not believe that the ruling class of this country would endure the massive costs necessary to rip off, transport, murder, and maim, millions of Black people for centuries, only because they had a hatred for black skin. We refuse to believe that the invasions and genocide perpetrated in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, were based on a hatred for Red, Brown, Black, Yellow, or White skin. We can readily see that the power structure pays well to all who would raise the question of racism, Black or White, and refrain from any reference to capitalism. We know that until the coming of Huey Newton no Negro or Black leaders uttered the word capitalism aloud since the untimely death of Malcolm X. Malcolm spent 10 years calling people devils, beasts and racists and lived less than half a year after making references to capitalism and socialism. The Black Panther Party understands that an education relevant to the situation of our people must be an education that teaches us "our role in present day society."

We see that any educational system (of Afro-American studies program) that doesn't recognize the realities of our situation can't possible teach us any solutions for that situation. We see the objective reality that historically

the solving of the problems and the resolving of the contradictions of capitalism calls for an in depth study (through practice) of socialist revolution.

That we understand these realities in no way implies that we belittle our heritage. On the contrary, we hold our history and our heritage in the highest esteem but we will not try to use the culture of ancient Zulo Kingdoms to solve the problems that plague us today. We understand the necessity to know our past and that this is the basis for knowing the present, but we refuse to live as we did in the 16th century in what we know to be the 20th century.

Our understanding of culture is that it is not something one selects and discards as one would a pair of socks or cuff-links. We understand that in order to really change our culture, we must first change the economic base from which this culture springs. The Black Panther Party understands that culture is in fact the total habits, customs, arts and ways of a people based on the economic base that they live under, and that the word "culture" is only an analytical category for processes and acts that take place within the superstructure of a given economic base.

As to "values" we know that values in this day, age, and society are primarily class values and not race values. We have watched our petty intellectuals, and "negro" bourgeoisie "love the master harder than the master loves himself." We have seen these same "negroes" and "intellectuals" become "Black," complain of psychic castration, stomped on egos, economic squeeze plays, and ripped off pride. We have seen and heard their writings and speeches to kill the plantation owner. We have seen that their hatred for the master does not extend to the plantation system itself. We know that slaves, serfs, and sharecroppers the world over are trying to burn the plantation down while these fools act as volunteer firemen. We have seen these same people become super-black and work openly and clandestinely for the power structure. We understand that in colonial situations the colonized bourgeoisie always ends up with its intellectual possessions in pawn to the Omnipotent Administrators of the colonizing nation, and that the "values" of our colonized "cultural" bourgeoisie are in fact the abstract "values" of an upper class and not the concrete values of an oppressed people.

ON THE QUESTION OF INTEGRATION OR SEPARATION:

Because of the Black Panther Party's objective, political approach to the problems that face Black people, some people have falsely labeled the Party as integrationist. The fact that most of these same people and groups fall into the category of "separatist" is clear cut proof of what our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton calls an incorrect political perspective. The question of whether or not to integrate or separate shows extreme political naivete, no matter which side you support or oppose. The Black Panther Party is not interested in the fools-folly of trying to integrate the slaves and the slave-masters. Nor would we champion non-violent, cultural, or ethnic separation into neighboring states and hope that this would solve the contradictions between the oppressed and the oppressors. We have seen U.S. imperialism rip off whole continents half way around the world, with the people on them.

We have no desire to live next door to any oppressors, nor do we have any fixation on marrying the daughter of any oppressor. We believe every individual, or-

Continued Next Page

MURDER OF SYLVESTER BELL

On Thursday, the 14th of August 1969, two members of the Black Panther Party, Anthony Dumas and Zeke Tate, were shot by the US Organization.

The racist Evening Tribune reported the incident as if the Black Panther Party was responsible for that.

The fact of the matter is this. The brothers were doing daily party work, when they noticed they were being followed by those fools, the cultural nationalists.

Sonny and everyone was fighting. One of the cops, Mark Brown yelled "Get the gun". Walter Williams pulled the gun and the brothers had to split.

The porkchop shot and hit Sylvester in the shoulder, the impact of the bullet knocked him down. Sylvester was getting back on his feet, when the chop ran up on him, and shot him in the neck and again in his head. The other brothers with Sylvester were shot at also but were not in the line of fire. This

been scared to face reality, you think you can hide, but you'll find there's no where to go. You say you're against violence, that brothers shouldn't fight amongst themselves. You come to the Black Panther Party and say "cool it" "let things get back to normal." You say you want a change. Do you think change will come of itself? Everyone is worried about what the Black Panther Party is going to do, everyone wants to believe we're going to bring the weight of the power structure down on us. No one stops to examine the situation, you don't care if we get shot, but you don't want us to shoot back.

Brothers are getting shot everyday and you say "cool it", you bring a light weight band to the park on Sunday and stuff the people with hot dogs and bullshit. Black people, we understand what's going on and we make every effort possible to let the people, our people know what's going on. We've been slapped in the face with death, four times. And people refuse to listen. Look at what we're doing, we're serving the people, our every action, all our programs.

The Breakfast Program, the Liberation School, the Ball and Defense, we're working toward Community Control of the Police and a Free Health Clinic. All of these, everyone of them are for the people. We're not putting on boot dances and we're not killing Black people. Yet, you are content to believe that we're harming the interests of our own people.

What kind of sense does that make? It doesn't make any sense at all. But we are still being shot down in cold blooded murder, and that's a fact that cannot be denied. For those of you that were there when they shot John Savage, for those of you that were there when they shot Sylvester Bell.

We can't tell you what to think, and we don't have to tell you what to see. Check it out for your self, and the people will decide for themselves.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

TURNING THE PIGS INTO POLICE

Some people are hesitant about signing the petition calling for Community Control of the Police. These people fail to realize that Community Control is the first step toward insuring that the people, not the fascist pigs, have the power to determine the destiny of their community. When this petition is implemented the people will have an indigenous force, the police, who would work for and truly serve the interest of the community through decentralization of the now existing police department the police would be responsive to the needs and desires of the community. This amendment to the city charter will definitely hurt the ruling fascist bandit clique who presently use the fascist pig cops as their first line of defense for protecting the interest of the local exploitive avaricious businessmen, for securing their own shaky positions of power, and for keeping the exploited Black, Brown, Yellow, and poor White communities terrorized and submissive. Today the fascist pig cops protect the criminal avaricious businessmen who practice all manner of crimes against the people. They commit robbery, and murder everyday but the fascist pig cops, not being responsive to the community, do nothing. The lying demagogic murdering, thieving politicians are also protected from the wrath of the people by the fascist pig cops. Everyday they squeeze from the people through taxes and fines what the avaricious businessman leaves. They accept bribes, kick backs

as they send young brothers off to jail or the inhumane war in Viet Nam.

The avaricious businessmen and the demagogic politicians are oinking in the faces of the people. They say that they serve and look after the interests of the people, however, the people are aware that the businessmen and the politicians are only serving the dollar.

People are beginning to understand that it is only the fascist pig cops who prevent them from physically alienating their economic and political oppressors and from instituting socialist programs. When the people start moving concretely to change their community, their society, the fascist pig cops are brought into the community to enforce the "law and order" of the oppressors.

So it is imperative that the community understands this petition and move immediately to wrestle control of the police from the blood stained hands of the avaricious businessmen and demagogic politicians, and place the police in the hands of the people. We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our black community.

All Power to the People

Free Huey
Free Bobby
Free Landon and Rory
Free All Political Prisoners

from last page

WHO'S ON THE PEOPLE'S SIDE

ganization, and institution in this country will eventually be part of the problem or part of the solution and we are not about to lose our political perspective and wage a struggle to sleep, eat, study, work, live with, or near any part of the problem no matter what color it comes in.

If these ideas bring condemnation, and assassination from alleged "Black" militants, while bringing brotherhood and a unity of ideas from revolutionaries all over the world, then, RIGHT ON!

If our actions bring murder, railroad, and beatings from the U.S. power structure while teaching our people the correct manner of struggle against this same power structure, then, RIGHT ON!

If the brutality, injustice, and repression manifesting itself in the cases of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Ericka Huggins, and hundreds of Panthers across this moral wasteland of Babylon, is an evolutionary and historic necessity for final victory, then, RIGHT ON!

The history of slave revolts is a two-fold history. It is a history of courage, honor, and dedication on one side; and treason, deceit, and cowardice on the other. Denmark Vessey, Gabriel Prosser, Nat Turner, Patrice Lumumba, Malcolm X, Huey Newton, and unnamed thousands have fallen victim to the walking, breathing plague manifested in traitors of a magnitude and longevity, till now unknown in human history. It can be put an end to; it must be put an end to. We should never forget what Brother Malcolm said, "We had the best organization for Black people in the western hemisphere and niggers ruined it."

All Power to the People
Blood to the Horse's Brew and
Ice to those who cannot swim.



Sylvester Bell

As they were approaching the intersection at 32nd and Market, the cultural nationalists shot at the vester Bell were at Otto Square shopping center, selling the Black Panther newspaper. Four cultural nationalists walked up and started harassing Sylvester. They said, "Are you talking about us this week?" And Sylvester said, "We are talking about everybody, even Stokely Carmichael." The cultural nationalists walked away, moving toward Thrifty's. They went inside Thrifty's and came back out. As they were approaching the brothers, the porkchop Walter Williams was holding a coat in his arms. He threw the coat over Sonny Ackles' head and the chop began to beat him. Sylvester and Kent saw this going down, and they ran to help Sonny. They got the porkchops off

makes the second comrade in San Diego, who was murdered by the US Organization. Lt. John Savage was murdered by the US Organization on May 23rd, 1969. Two brothers were killed in Los Angeles at U.C.L.A.

Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense, murdered Friday the 17th of January, 1969. John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information, murdered Friday the 17th of January, 1969. A total of four members of the Black Panther Party, murdered by the US Organization.

For the benefit of the people of Southeast San Diego, those of you who don't know what's going on. To you whom feel that the Black Panther Party is harming the interest of the people. To the community pacifiers, you have always

POLITICAL ASSASSINATION

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions when they have developed to a certain stage -- between classes, nations, states or political groups -- and it has existed since the emergence of private property and classes. History itself proves this to be true. As we study the politics of this country, we see there is a listing of political assassinations when two opposing forces grown to the extent that one has to be eliminated. From Lincoln to Kennedy, we would

like to point out that the reasons for those murders were not because of Black people, although the lying politicians, through the use of the news media, tell the people they were off because they were trying to help the Black man. This is true because no individual can change the overall conditions of the Black man unless the system of government is completely changed. This country's economic and political structure could not survive if the Black man were really free. Under a capitalistic system, like this country, a certain percentage of the entire population has to be unemployed and exploited. Black people in America are super-exploited. In racist America, 1969, the Black man is rising in the political struc-

ture. We are taking positive steps toward gaining our freedom. In moving to accomplish this, we of the Vanguard Party have become targets of pig oppression. All the pigs' attention has been focused on the destruction of the Black Panther Party. People have little or no understanding of the events that are unfolding here in San Diego, and in America itself. The people are being fed lies from the highest level, and the people are confused. They don't know what's right and what's wrong. They are unable to distinguish real friends from real enemies. And when they see brothers being shot by so-called brothers, this adds to their confusion. We interpret these wanton, cold blooded killings as a sign of weakness. We stated a fact that could not be disputed in our weekly newsletter. The only thing these sissies could do was murder our brother, Sylvester Bell. We had stated the truth and shooting the brother was to serve as a means of stopping us. The Black Panther Party recognizes those fools for what they are, and we're saying that they, the US organization, are enemies of the people. The people don't need boot dancers. The people need community control of the pigs! The people don't need culture. The people need freedom! So we say they are living. Every-

thing that they have to offer, the people don't really need. Who are these fools? In a word -- pigs!

Sylvester Bell is the fourth comrade of the Black Panther Party to be murdered by this so-called Black organization since January 17 of this year. Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense for Southern California, and John Jerome Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information of Southern California were murdered by members of the same organization on January 17, 1969 on the UCLA campus. Lt. John Savage was murdered by this same organization May 23, 1969, on 30th and Imperial Avenue. And the day before Sylvester was murdered, the 14th of August, an attempt was made to kill Anthony Dumas and Zeke Tate, at the intersection of 32nd and Market Street. Three or four members of the US organization riddled the brothers' car with bullets, and the racist pig news media reported the incident saying that the Black Panther Party was responsible for that.

As revolutionaries, we know the struggle is going to be long and hard. That the road to perpetual peace is full of twists and turns. We encounter many setbacks, but the struggle must go on. Black children are dying from hunger everyday, and we have some

niggers that want to keep our children and our people in the same oppressive conditions. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, states clearly "cultural nationalists turn into Pappa Doc's."

Pappa Doc Duvalier of Haiti, kicked the white oppressor out because he's against anything white. Then he replaced white oppression with Black oppression. And his people's condition never really changed. As we stated earlier, under a system of capitalism, someone has to get exploited. Milhouse Nixon is talking about Black Capitalism, and the US organization endorses that.

The Breakfast Program meets one of the basic needs of the people -- hunger. The oppressor couldn't stop it himself, so he got some toms together, namely Ron Karenga, LeRoi Jones, and their Karengatangs, and they did it for him.

The same tactic that was used to silence Brother Malcolm, is the tactic that was used against the Breakfast Program and our revolutionary brothers.

All Power to the People

BLOOD
TO THE
PORK
CHOP'S
ASS

Continued from last week

NEW
HOLY
WARS

DEATH OF A PAPER GOD

In defense of the dollar bill the American bourgeoisie has launched new types of holy wars that employ numerous dastardly tactics. The war in Vietnam and the actions of the U.S. C.I.A. in the countries of Africa and Latin America all demonstrate to what extent they'll go to protect their ill gotten gain. In Vietnam, America is supposedly fighting to keep the world safe from communism, which it claims will destroy all human values, and save it for christianity. On objective examination, however, you find that thousands of U.S. servicemen are being killed and maimed in a futile attempt to keep Vietnam safe for capitalist exploitation and corruption with its inhumane value system that places dollar bills before human lives. And using dialectical materialism you find that the christianity that the American idealist are serving, rains down millions of pounds of flaming napalm and billions of pounds of high explosive bombs on innocent Vietnamese people who's only "sin" is a thirst for liberation from exploitation and the right of self-determination. The arms manufacturing, construction and shipping corporations, who control the corrupt news and propaganda agencies in this country, fill the air with dirty bourgeoisie lies while they

rake in millions of dollars every month from the "holy war" in Vietnam. Even the rice industry in America is prospering from the tons of poisons produced in the U.S. and used in Vietnam. These defoliant chemicals, as they are called to the glee and profit of American rice growers have turned Vietnam from a rice exporting into a rice importing country. The truth becomes clearer every day, if that's possible. America never has been governed by christianity. The almighty dollar is the only God America ever worshipped and served!

In many places in the U.S. it cost more, due to the high mining costs, to mine gold than it is worth. As a result of this, the American bourgeoisie has been forced to rely heavily on gold exploited from other countries, notably Africa, to try and maintain its backing for the dollar bill. In its propaganda the U.S. government says it does not support South Africa because of its racial policy. In reality, though much of the gold that props up the shaky dollar comes from South Africa. A country where black people are given a choice, either work in the mines in virtual slavery, or starve to death on barren, arid reservations much like the ones

American Indians are forced to live on. The American bourgeoisie through its banks like Bank of America, Chase Manhattan and the New York Stock Exchange, invest millions every year in South African gold mines and American corporations give generous technical assistance in atomic and arms development to that country. The hypocritical bourgeoisie, led by Wall Street knows very well that when black liberation fighters liberate South Africa there'll be no more gold. Through its imperialist ties with NATO, the U.S. ships planes, tanks, small arms and ammunition to Portugal. Portugal then uses these arms in South Africa to try and maintain the Portuguese colonies there and protect South Africa from the thousands of Liberation Fighters who are waging a peoples war. In Nigeria, the American and European powers instigated and perpetuated a bloody civil war that they feel will relieve some pressure off South Africa and its gold mines.

The Nigerian army was the largest black controlled army in Africa, with a million men, and was important in plans to liberate Southern Africa from the clutches of Western domination and exploitation. Even without this large

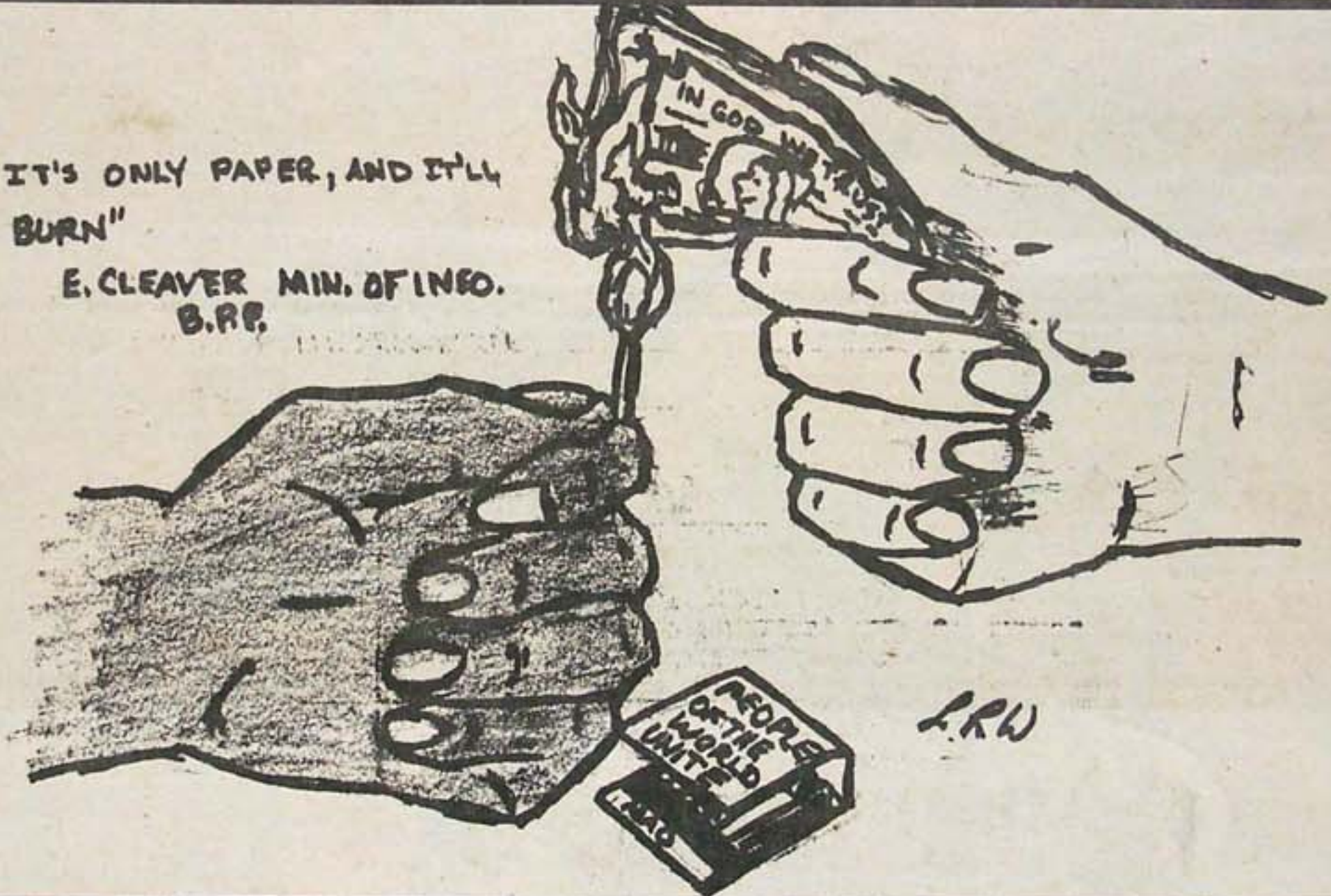
well-trained army the battle goes on and the fate of Southern Africa and its gold mines is sealed.

Armed invasion, mass murder, suppression of revolutions like the Dominican Republic, and coup is the way that the American bourgeoisie maintains its bloody control over Latin America. Army officers and soldiers from Latin American countries are brought to U.S. Army bases and given training in anti-guerilla warfare techniques. Right along with this training goes such a strong anti-communist indoctrination until these officers and men become paranoid and see communist lurking behind every tree and in every government office. Like the American public, they are never told what communists are all about or how to identify one. They're just taught to blindly hate communism and that anything that threatens the existing order or questions American motives and actions to beware of. They are also taught that they are better than the people. That the people are stupid, gullible fools and not to trust them. As a result these soldiers become so fanatically anti-communist, pro-American, brainwashing reactionaries until the only ones they'll listen to and trust are their American "advisors", who then

proceed to use them like trained dogs. When their "advisors" say bark, they bark; when they say attack, they attack, without a moment's hesitation or thought, like a well-trained dog, they attack. Once they gain control of the army these "advisors" who are often C.I.A. agents, give the governments of these countries an ultimatum. Go along with American business interest, which means vicious exploitation, play the game and become a lackey, a running dog, or face a coup de tat which means death. To put it into proper perspective the name of the game is called blackmail American style. America's criminal bourgeoisie knows no moral restraints, anything to defend the dollar to them is justified. This blackmail may work on weak and scary governments, but the people of Latin America like those of Vietnam and Africa are strong and will be neither intimidated, blackmailed, or forced into submission. The peoples base is founded in historical materialism and built on objective reality. They know that for them to serve America's God means starvation and death. They have courageously refused to bow down, have picked up guns and dared to knock the props out from under the once omnipotent dollar.

"IT'S ONLY PAPER, AND IT'LL BURN"

E. CLEAVER MIN. OF INFO.
B.R.P.



ARM YOURSELF OR HARM YOURSELF

Chairman Mao says, "POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN!" This is a fact which the workers and people here in America, particularly Black people, must grasp. The imperialist regime headed by the Nixon administration, is right today escalating material conditions here in America which, if able to continue unaverted, will spell Black people's doom. We must repudiate all bourgeoisie orientated propaganda and move to obtain political power! Black people must stop vacillating with themselves about ways and means to obtain this power which is so imperative to our very survival, and face reality: IT GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN!

For those of you who still endorse and go along with the bourgeoisie rhetoric being spouted by bootlicking, traitorous, running dogs, such as Abernathy, Young, Wilkins, A. Phillip Randolph, etc. (who are nothing more than King Richard Nixon's lackeys) you are nothing but spineless fools, di-

vorced from objective reality. If you started conforming your thoughts to the realm of the objective world, in other words, opening your eyes and cleaning out your ears, the initial shock of seeing fascist, imperialist America, revealed in all it's perverted ugliness, would probably blow your chickens--t minds. And those of you who'd survive the initial shock would finally begin to comprehend what our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver means when he says, "It's time to stop going along with rhetoric that you can not endorse."

Anyone who stumbles around fascist America, not checking out the material conditions around them, falls easy prey to bourgeoisie propaganda. Overwhelmed by it's idealistic base, they become divorced from reality, blinded, unable to see the forest for the trees, wrapped up in the bourgeoisie bubble of bliss, the American dream!

Innumerable times the bubble of bliss bursts, spilling forth its con-

tents in the form of genocide on the Vietnamese people; the planned genocide of Black people here in fascist America; the putting of major emphasis on interplanetary space travel, while people of America starve; the relentless exploitation of the workers and people that comes in such forms as the ten percent income tax surcharge, which will drain 5.6 billion of the people's hard earned dollars and will be used to fatten the imperialist's pockets; the brutal suppression of the workers' and peoples' of the world's just struggles for liberation; the mindless plundering and exploitation of foreign countries' mineral resources and the continuance of plots, by the fascist American imperialist, to keep the workers and people unarmed for the oppressors. The idealist fools that they are realize that a people unarmed are slaves or subject to slavery at any given moment!

The tools that the imperialist Nixon-led regime employs in its pigly attempts to keep the work-

ers and the people here in fascist America and in other parts of the world exploited and oppressed varies.

In fascist America they use the thin blue line, fascist dog policemen, national guardsmen, cynical F.B.I. agents and traitorous, bootlicking civil rights leaders. Outside the confines of decadent America they use the sadistic C.I.A. agents, the mercenary U.S. armed services, and running dog treaty organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). All of these are tentacles of imperialist America.

Imperialist America's lackeys in these crimes against the people are bootlicking, running dogs like Abernathy and Wilkins and company, who are not without their international counterparts, the traitorous Ky of South Vietnam,

Indonesia's Suharto, Thailand's bootlicking Praphas, South Korea's Park, Argentina's Ongania, and the murderous General Ortuno of Bolivia. I could go on exposing these traitorous pigs, but it would take up the whole paper. These bootlicking, running dog lackeys are all servants of America's imperialist regime, at the beck and call of their perverted masters, keeping the people confused, divided, oppressed, exploited, and unarmed.

The imperialists and their lackeys are armed. And only by arming ourselves will the workers' and peoples' just struggle for liberation succeed! The fascist, imperialists here in America, will not stop exploiting and oppressing the people on their own accord. They must be dealt sledgehammer blows until their inevitable defeat! The workers and people of America must unite and rise to the task of burying fascist, imperialist, A-

Continued on Page 22

"REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, REVOLUTIONARY WEDDING"

On Tuesday, August 19th at 8:00 p.m. at the Free Church of Berkeley, two revolutionaries were given in marriage by the Black Panther Party -- the Minister of Education, Raymond "Masai" Hewitt and Sister Shirley Neely.

Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, and Sister Dorothy Phillips were the witnesses for the revolutionary couple.

Reverend Dick York joined the couple in matrimony. The ceremony was the traditional marriage vows with some parts altered, and most of the metaphysics removed. When the minister asked who "giveth this man and woman in marriage," Chairman Bobby Seale said, "The Black Panther Party." The pair of million dollar wedding rings made from U.S. planes shot down over Vietnam, were supplied free by the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Black Panther Party knows that with the strong union of two revolutionaries, Masai and Shirley, that our struggle will intensify. All Power to Masai and Shirley.

All Power to the People



Million dollar rings. . .



. . . from the FNL, Vietnam.



All Power to the People

GUATEMALA 1954: REASONS FOR DEFEAT

Editors Note: In the interest of clarification of some erroneous ideas that are particularly rampant in the Black Community, the Black Panther Party reprints the following excerpt, taken from an article printed in Tricontinental Magazine #2, 1967, page 68.

The author, Manuel Galich, was eminently qualified to analyse the reasons for the defeat of his country's revolutionaries by U.S. Imperialism. Included in his analyses was a section analysing the ideological weaknesses in the revolutionary camp. The following is the text of that section:

IDEOLOGICAL LATITUDE OF AN UNHAPPY GENERATION

Although it seems incredible, in 1944 we did not know the meaning of imperialism. We had certainly heard of it, but were ignorant of its complexity, its voracity, its objectives of continental and world domination, the economic mechanism that moves it, its tricks, its resources, its implacable coldness in business matters, its lies, its doctrines and its dogmas; that is, of all that we were later to suffer and know too well, when it was too late. And, nevertheless we were the vanguard of the university movement against Jorge Ubico, which meant the vanguard of the entire country, since until then -- let us say between 1942 and 1944 -- no other organized forces existed even in incipient form. Ubico had been bloodily "efficient."

We harboured a nebulous anti-Yankee sentiment, aroused perhaps by an emotion that was, more than anything else, mestizaje and Latin American, and a basic and chauvinistic national jealousy which repudiated the image of the prepotent and intrusive Yankee. As early as the beginning of our primary school studies, we had been diehard sandinistas, eager to

march off to Nicaragua to join the forces of the hero of Segovia, to help them "throw the gringos out of Central America." A decade later, our repudiation was as much sexual as national, since it was equally intolerable to us that Ubico had ceded bases in the airport at La Aurora and in the port of San Jose to the Yankee military and that soldiers from these bases swarmed over the capital on Saturday nights, like great herds of capering goats, to insult our manners and customs in drunken and obscene clashes. We held the worst possible opinion of, and considered "traitors to their race, blood and people," the "gringueras," semi-prostitutes who felt flattered to walk arm-in-arm with blond, gum-chewing gringos dressed in khakis. And we gleefully participated in any scuffle that was organized against a drunken or impertinent Yankee, for example in Ciro's.

None of this was anti-imperialist ideology. It was only instinctive reaction reduced to a most unorthodox postulate:

"Gringos, tremendous sons of bitches."

Our closest approaches to ideology were fervent sympathy with the Spanish Republic, sincere indignation at its solitude and its defeat, and very rational hatred, yes, of fascism and nazism. Because, at the same time that we were able to perceive what both meant for the world, we saw the tyranny that oppressed our own country as a grotesque, insect-scale version of the totalitarianism rampant in Europe. We did not know that this stupid and totalitarian tyranny was the handiwork of Yankee imperialism and the effect of that imperialism, pleasing to Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. For that reason, we were sincerely on the side of the Allies.

FREEDOM OF PRESS: FACT OR FICTION?

The history of oppression always includes gross attempts to stamp out freedom of the press. This was true in the case of the English pig oppression of the colonies in America, and this was also true in the oppression of those parts of the world under the fascist Nazi swine.

It is a universal characteristic of oppression that freedom of speech and freedom of press must be done away with, by "any means necessary." This does not mean that all publications are banned. On the contrary, it means that "certain political publications" are banned under various pretexts or overtly.

For instance: In the last eight years, over a million tons of "immoral," "obscene" and "pornographic" materials published in the United States and in the U.S. Embassy in Saigon have been dumped into South Vietnam.

At the same time, people have been jailed, tortured and murdered for possession of an anti-U.S. leaflet, or suspicion of authoring anti-U.S. publications, and even for the mere act of purchasing paper without a good, U.S. ap-

proved reason. This ideological, political repression has caused a proliferation of underground newspapers and magazines in South Vietnam and only validated the need for their existence.

This repression of the press is also the reality of the situation under the reign of "King Tricky Dick the First," of Fascist Babylon (America).

AS PROOF WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING:

On the morning of Monday August 26, 1969, three brothers from the San Francisco branch were selling papers outside the Greyhound Terminal, an area that the pigs had been increasingly repressive in. The brothers, Lucky Jenkins, Felton Adams, and Ruben Scott, were selling papers when out of the door slid two Pinkerton Rent-A-Pigs.

The Rent-A-Pigs told the Brothers where they could sell their papers (public sidewalk) and where they couldn't (Greyhound Property). As this same location had been the scene of prior harassment and false arrests (See August 16th issue of our paper.), The Brothers

noted the unnecessary warning and continued selling papers on the sidewalk.

The White Rent-A-Pig went back inside while the Afro-Rent-A-Pig slid up to the three Panthers with rhetoric about how "we're all Black" and it's just a job with me Brothers but I've got my orders."

While the Rent-A-Pig was trying to pass himself off as a human being two San Francisco Detectives pulled up and started taking pictures.

The Panthers seeing that the bullshit had really gotten deep decided to split.

As the Panthers turned to walk to their car the White Rent-A-Pig came dashing out of the building in "hot-pursuit," grabbed Ruben, and was return grabbed by the other two Panthers. The instant arrival on the scene of five San Francisco Uniformed Pigs, two detectives, and a patty wagon, put a stop to the scuffling. The San Francisco Pigs informed the Panthers that the Rent-A-Pigs were making a citizens arrest on them, tossed them into the wagon and hauled them to jail. The three Panthers were charged with obscene lan-

WHAT DOES THE DECENTRALIZATION OF POLICE MEAN?

people can kick them out of office.

Why Does This Petition Get the Pig Power Structure so Uptight?

This petition and electoral campaign is a fundamental challenge to this fascist U.S. government. The people will be demanding our right to control the "law enforcement" bodies in this country. Right now Nixon, Alloto and the rest of the demagogic politicians would like for us to think that the purpose of the police is to serve and protect people - all the people. But we know better. The purpose of the pigs is to forcibly repress through any means necessary - brutality, murder, terrorism - the masses of the people in order to keep the few monopoly capitalists in power. The masses of people have always rebelled against those few in the ruling class that oppressed them. That is why the ruling classes have to have special forces whose sole purpose is to suppress the people. And without

these special forces those few would not be able to stay on top.

So when the Black Panther Party initiates a Community Control of Police Petition, we are threatening an arm of Babylon which is very fundamental to its existence. Without that arm of organized violence and repression, Babylon would cease to exist. And this is why the pigs, the avaricious businessmen and the demagogic politicians are attacking our Party so viciously. They are afraid of the POWER OF THE PEOPLE, because it means their doom. And they cannot tolerate the Black Panther Party because we are going forth to make sure that the people get that power.

Sign the Community Control of Police Petition.

THE PEOPLE WILL RISE LIKE A MIGHTY STORM

Sunday, August 17, 1969, the Black and Brown people of the federally run, fascist city of Denver moved to reopen the swimming pool at Curtis Park 32nd and Champa Streets in the Black and Brown community, and did it.

The people took over management of the pool and filled it with water so that their children could swim as do the pigs' children in South Denver. A water department pig attempted to turn the water off and the people moved on him, surrounding him and the pigs and said, "Hell, no! You aren't going to turn this water off." The Denver Post said the pigs remained calm. Right On! But they made it known that "a reaction would follow."

Some of those in attendance were Black Senator George Brown, (Dem-Denver); City Councilman, Elvin Caldwell; members of the Black Student's Alliance; Rent-A-Pig Wendell Sexton; NAACP Legal Redress Chairman; members of the Denver Chapter Black Panther Party; Crusade for Justice; Brian McQuerry; SDS; Frank Bailey; Black People's Movement, and Joseph Sullivan.

Joseph Sullivan said he was at the pool Sunday morning when oink Sergeant George F.Q. Torsney challenged him to a fight. Sullivan declined. So the pig went to the car, got his piece, gave it to Sullivan and proceeded to challenge him to a shoot-out.

Omar took a picture with Senator George Brown, which the news media failed to print in their paper or show on T.V. Omar told the pigs to be sure to send it to the F.B.I. oink J. Edgar Hoover. All Power to the People! Free Rory and Landon! Free All Political Prisoners!

JOHN SAVAGE BREAKFAST CANCELLED

The John Savage Free Breakfast for Children program has been temporarily cancelled due to a shooting incident which occurred August 14; where members of the pork chop, boot-licker, pig orientated US Organization tried to shoot in a car that contained two Panther members, while driving down Market Street and 32nd.

The priest at the church where the Breakfast Program is being held, heard about the shooting, and decided to cancel the use of the church's facilities for two weeks. Because they feared that there would probably be some shooting at the church and that things might possibly cool down in about two weeks.

Now, those children who were

attending the Breakfast, will be deprived of well-rounded breakfasts every morning for two weeks, just because of these low-lift fools who are running around yelling "Peace, unity and self-determination" under the name of US (Uncle Sam's Ultra Sissies).

So we say "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing" because this shows us that we are moving in the right direction in achieving our goal, the liberation of Black people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLOOD TO THE HORSE'S BROW
AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CAN-
NOT SWIM
LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF
DEFENSE

guage, disorderly conduct, and obstructing traffic.

Ruben Scott was also charged with "possession of stolen property." He had a friend's bankbook on him. Ruben, at the time of this arrest, was already running back and forth to court on the same trumped up charges stemming from similar harassment back in May. Billy Hill, James Burford, and Dennis Rogers, along with 272 papers, were also arrested at that time (May 21st). In the August 16 issue of our paper we covered the story of a similar incident involving Gail Spillard, Sharla Hampton, Harold Holmes, and the same fascist Rent-A-Pig Co.

These are not "isolated incidents" or "rare occasions," but standard operating procedure for a power structure determined to put an end to "freedom of (dissenting) speech" and "freedom of (dissenting) press." The fascist pigs mean what they say when they say, "by any means necessary" and this also holds true of the oppressed people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE BLACK PANTHER
**FASCIST
FUNNIES**
PRESENTS:
**THE RISE AND FALL OF
MICKY
MOUSE**
BY BLOOD BROTHER.

JUSTICE (?) IN THE STATE OF
DISNEYLAND, AS IN THE REST
OF BABYLON, WEIGHED HEAVILY
IN FAVOR OF THE PIGS...



BUT, ASIDE FROM OCCASSIONAL
HUMAN TARGETS, MICKEYS PIG
FORCES WERE GETTING RUSTY
FROM INACTIVITY...



THEIR CHANCE CAME WHEN THE
STREET PEOPLE OF BERKELEY
RIPPED OFF A SQUARE BLOCK
OF LAND CALLED 'PEOPLES PARK'



A LETTER TO MY WIFE

From Bobby Seale

Artie, my wife who, by the look on your face in court the other day, has now become a full time revolutionary in the Black Panther Party. Don't worry. The Party will take care of your living needs as you have learned. And of course I know baby, that you realize how the U.S. federal pig fascist power structure can plot against we revolutionary people. But when we learn how not to be selfish, through practice, we all of a sudden want to save all of our people. I know you have made up your mind that you are going to work with the Party in every way to get me free. But remember when it happened to Huey, I made up my mind to work hard to get Huey free; and all of this is nothing more than working to free all of our people. Artie, remember Charles, Landon, Rory, Ericka? They all serve the people.

If you never remember anything else, remember this: Serve the people, because to die for the fascist and imperialistic exploiters is lighter than a feather; but to die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai.

In all of our hard work, remember it is based on being concerned with the well being of the masses. If you remember to serve the people, baby, you will remember the need to free all our brothers and sisters who are political prisoners.

Artie, honey, read this carefully:

PROLETARIAT means working class. The working class is all those masses who produce the wealth of the earth. But that wealth which they should have is exploited from them by the present bourgeoisie ruling class. That's why it's so hard for the poor oppressed masses to eke out a living on this earth. Honey, I suggest you finish that green

book I gave you. Then study it some more, then learn all the revolutionary principles you can from the Party and then really go out and put them into practice. Now if I ain't in love with you because I saw something on your face the other morning that said you were a revolutionary, then something is wrong. Starting now, one way Artie you can really serve the masses is to learn the Community Control of Police Petition so well, you can give orientation classes to others. Learn how that petition is a real basis for organizing revolutionary action among the masses, so the proletariat can seize state power. And Malik, David's, June's children and all the youth of the workers can help build a socialist system that really does serve the people.

Artie, I hope you are not being selfish and keeping this letter to yourself. Aw, I know that you are reading it to other Party members. That's good. I know our three year old son can't read it now, but read it to him anyway.

POWER

Artie, tell Huey, Big Man, John, David, Masai, Emory, Marsha, June, Ericka, Landon, Charles, Shelly, Shirley, Rosemary, Bobby Fred, Robert Bay, Rory, Eldridge, Kathleen, and every Party member you run into that I love them because they are true Revolutionaries, and that is the reason I love you, Artie. O.K.?

Power to the People

What's Malik doing?

Teach him how to serve the people by your examples, Artie.

LETTER THE TO EDITOR

Kansas City, Missouri
August 6, 1969

Dear Editor,

Hospitals and other health care agencies are among those organizations that operate according to bureaucratic principles; that is, the organization is designed to produce maximum structural order and efficiency. Bureaucracy is characterized in part by a clear-cut division of labor, a formal system of rules and regulations to govern official decisions and actions and a hierarchic authority structure.

A hierarchy structure means, positions in the organization are ranked with those in higher position having the authority to direct the activities of those below them.

We the people, fight and ask for everything except better hospitals and medical attention.

The vast majority of municipal and county general hospitals are badly run, impoverished, long neglected fleabags.

When you come to these hospitals and we tell you somebody's going to help you. The fact is, you lie in a pool of urine and feces, develop a ulcer (bedsore), septicemia (blood poison), and perhaps ultimately die because of inadequate nursing care.

Most large cities all have the same problem which puts it on a nationwide scale. How is the city or general hospital in your area?

Medical staffs are beginning to speak up. A Chicago doctor states: "The hospital is dying and doctors are helpless."

The city hospitals are usually located in the ghetto area and are rotting and decaying as the rest of the buildings in the area.

The city hospital is always busy, 24 hours a day, with the poor masses of people trying to get medical attention.

All city hospitals suffer from the same things: lack of income, antiquated buildings, inadequate equipment or none, political interference, and bureaucratic red tape. Also overcrowded emergency rooms and fragmented medical care.

You may have a 3 to 8 hour wait in an emergency room waiting station in any large city. Yet, city hospitals are always in demand, because they never close their doors.

We are confronted by the demand for a change. Change will take place, because we want a change. We the people, must speak up and demand better hospitals for the poor.

We must speak out. Hard pressed politicians have simply used the money elsewhere in their budgets, rather than using it for hospital needs, and hospital improvements.

As a nurse and servant of the people, I speak out. Why not join me? Speak out for a better city hospital!

LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL

August 23, 1969

Attorney General John N. Mitchell
Department of Justice
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to vigorously protest your continued harassment and persecution of the Black Panthers and currently in particular your persecution of Bobby Seale in Oakland.

You are either ignorant or have forgotten history which proves that the more you persecute and harass a group the more support you arouse for the group and create opposition and resistance to your vicious and unconstitutional policies. Perhaps you seek to organize for the Black Panther Party! If so you are proceeding correctly! Although in the process you tear the American constitution to shreds which, if you remember, you swore to uphold. I assume that does not concern you!

You will recall that resistance to the sadistic subhuman band of

Gestapo torturers moved, lived and even flourished even in the concentration camps under the very worst of the mad-subhuman torturers did get their just deserts.

Even a child in this land can see that the phony charge of conspiracy, the fabulous ransome (you call bail) is a racist attempt to try to strangle the most militant section of the Black Liberation movement in its crib; an old method of tyrants and frankly for your information has never worked before in history, and will not work now!

You would be well advised, Mr. Attorney General to call off your dogs. The time is past. The troldytes are doomed by history. Too many people are in the know! The youth of all colors and many persuasions are on the MARCH.

Sincerely yours,

Marion Kinney
210 - 29th East
Seattle, Washington
98102

SERVING THE PEOPLE MEDICAL CLINIC

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. The Health Cadre of the S.I.B.P.P. serves the people of Staten Island with our Free Medical Program.

Medicine in the USA is used as a tool to strengthen the ruling class. It is dispensed as a profit-making commodity, and so the intent of the "medicine industry" is to turn a profit. This is the fundamental contradiction. Their goal should be the health of the people, not their own profit. Because their goal is profits and not health, you see them doing things which cause sickness rather than cure it.

--They have purposely maintained a "doctor shortage" (monopoly) so that they can charge high fees. --Drug companies and drugstores overcharge more than any other industry. Drug companies spend six times more on advertising than they do on research.

--Hospital workers are the lowest paid group of workers in the USA: The economic and social caste system in hospitals cast the nurses aides and janitors as lowlives, and the doctors as princes.

--The profession watches the government turn into a large fascist military machine and smiles its approval, even as health appropriations are cut.

--The profession ignores the diseases of the poor--unemployment, poor housing, malnutrition, racism and exploitation -- because there is not money in it.

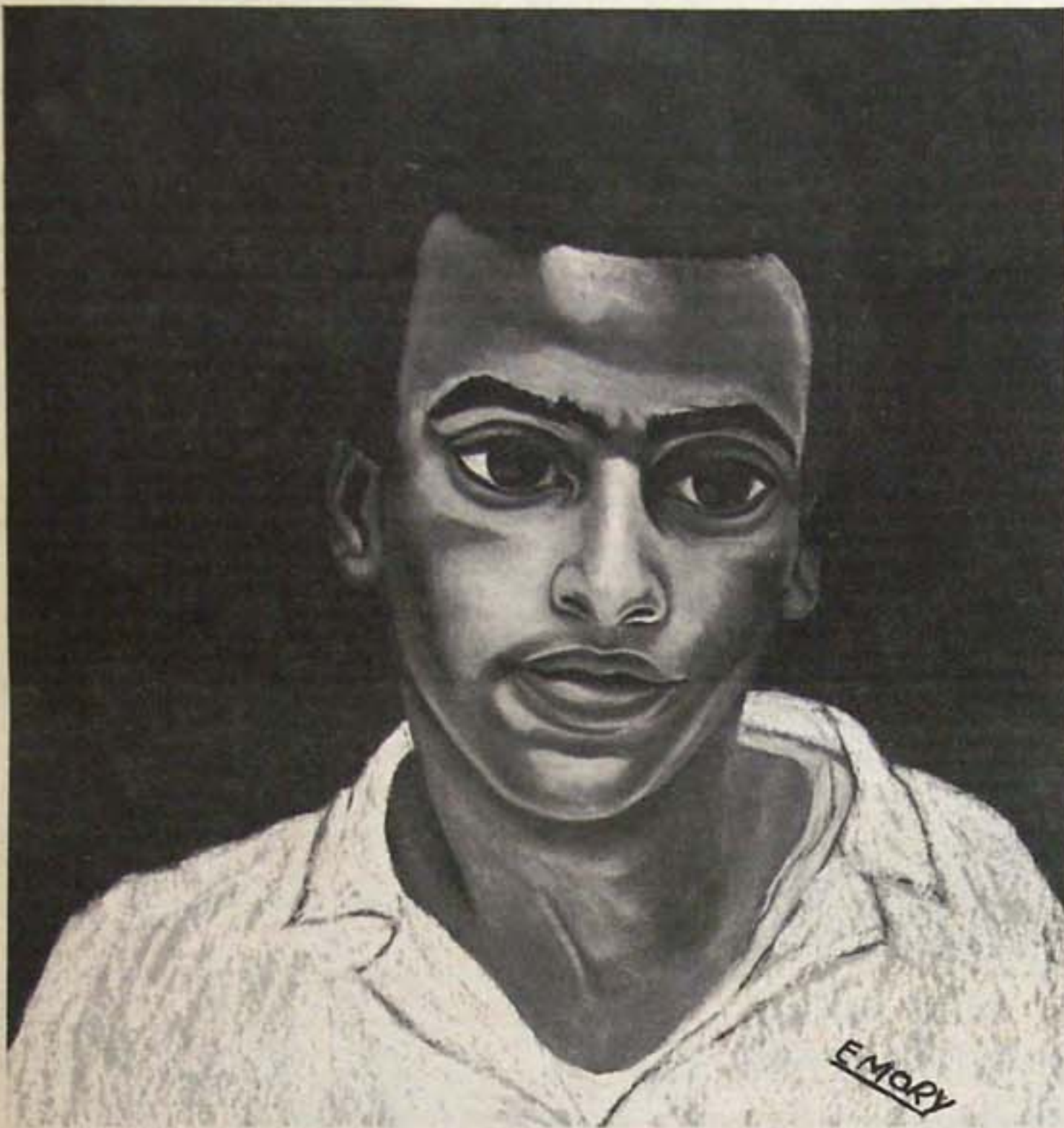
--It tells us everything is fine with American medicine even though there are 22 countries (most of the socialist) with longer life expectancies. For the fascist, things are fine. They are getting rich.

It is the duty of the Black Panther Health Cadre to show by example that this profit-motivated B---S--- doesn't have to be. The Free Medical Program on S.I. provides the people with house calls by revolutionary doctors whenever the people are sick. The doctors live in the heart of the community, and relate to the people as brothers, rather than "paternalistically" as patients. Our practice among the people has indicated the serious need of combatting certain diseases in an organized way. Thus the Health Cadre is staging a six month crash program to rid our community of PREVENTABLE DISEASE. The Cadre will deal with (1) ANEMIA (2) WORMS (3) MALNUTRITION (4) WEAPON INJURIES (5) HEARING AND VISION DISEASES (6) TOOTH AND GUM DISEASES.

Our Cadre works with non-party community groups, giving health services such as FREE PHYSICAL EXAMS TO YOUTH GROUPS. Complete DRAFT COUNSELING and DRAFT PHYSICALS are available through the Health Cadre. The Cadre is responsible for FIRST AID abilities and maintaining the health habits of the S.I. Branch and the N.Y. Chapter as a whole, especially as regards nutrition, preventable disease, and sleep.

FREE HUEY
FREE BOBBY
FREE BURSEY
FREE THE CONN. 8
FREE THE N.Y. 21
FREE ALL
POLITICAL
PRISONERS

HUEY'S APPEAL



EDITOR'S NOTE:

The following article is taken from the appeal prepared by the attorneys defending Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Huey's attorneys have moved to have the case reviewed by the Court of Appeals of the State of California. The Black Panther News Paper will print the appeal in part--every week to give the people all the facts as to why Huey P. Newton should be set free immediately.

1. OPERATION OF CALIFORNIA PENAL CODE SECTION 1074.8 IN PRODUCING A JURY MORE LIKELY TO CONVICT AND MORE PREJUDICED THAN ONE DRAWN FROM A RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION.

Professor Hans Zeisel testified that those persons favoring capital punishment are less likely to favor open housing and more likely to move if Negroes move into their neighborhoods and are more likely to be anti-Negro (R.T. 183-85). Those favoring capital punishment approve open housing at the rate of 28%. Those against capital punishment approve of open housing at the rate of 59%. With respect to the question, "If colored people came to live next door, would you move?" those favoring capital punishment say "yes" at the rate of 46%, and those against capital punishment say "yes" at the rate of 31% (R.T. 185).

Defendant also introduced the uncontradicted testimony of Professor Zeisel that pro-capital punishment jurors are more likely to vote guilty on the first ballot in criminal cases than jurors who had scruples against capital punishment (R.T. 188). Jurors without scruples against capital punishment, i.e., pro-capital punishment jurors, required less proof before they considered it proved beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant was guilty in criminal cases than did jurors with scruples against capital punishment (R.T. 189, 182, Defendant's Preliminary Hearing Exhibit H).

In addition to the fact of a simple positive correlation between favoring capital punishment and racist attitudes, favoring capital punishment is part of a larger personality syndrome which includes the propensity to side with the prosecution on the issue of defendant's guilt (R.T. 196). Pro-capital punishment jurors have clearly distinguishable personality characteristics, tending to be what some writers call "authoritarian" (R.T. 196).

Defendant also introduced the testimony of Professor R. Nevitt Sanford, (22) who described the type of personality delineated in The Authoritarian Personality, a leading basic text in social psychology. The study, of which Professor Sanford was executive director, described the "authoritarian personality" as a type, delineated in the testimony of Professor Sanford as a (R.T. 220-21):

being... primary over-submissiveness to authority and uncritical acceptance of authority, ... a rigid adherence to conventional values to the degree that the individual involved is easily outraged by violations of conventional standards; a special kind of aggressiveness, ...

"... a form of aggressiveness directed particularly to people who are believed to be violating conventional standards and characteristically carried out in the name of some authority; a disposition to dislike weakness in other people, to seem to be very sensitive to the presence of weakness in other people and to present one's self as extraordinarily powerful and tough; to be associated with or identified with, insofar as possible, what is strong and to be disidentified with whatever is perceived as weak; a readiness to -- to believe in dangerous goings on in the world; a kind of suspiciousness or a readiness to believe the worst about people; to take a somewhat cynical view of human nature, ...

"(to be) punitive and judgmental (and to show) traits of hostile rejectiveness."

FOOTNOTE

22. Professor of Psychology in Education and Director of Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University; executive director of research, 1943-1950, leading to publication of two-volume text, The Authoritarian Personality (1950), T.W. Adorno, et al.; co-author of The Authoritarian Personality and of numerous texts, books and articles in professional journals.

The theory and findings of The Authoritarian Personality are currently taught in virtually all colleges; there are approximately 300 studies presently published, dealing specifically with the research and findings and implications of the book (R.T. 219). These are also widely incorporated as a chapter in text books in social psychology (R.T. 220).

Professors Sanford and Zeisel supplied the evidentiary base which the Supreme Court noted was inadequate on record before it in Witherspoon v. Illinois, 391 U.S. 510, 88 S.Ct. 1770 (1968), on the actual findings of authoritarianism and other characteristic traits of pro-capital punishment jurors. The Court referred, in footnote 10, to Professor Zeisel's work, but his study was at that time incomplete (R.T. 177), and the Supreme Court did not have the work of Crosson or Sanford (see discussion, infra), before it.

END FOOTNOTE

Professor Sanford further testified that race and class prejudice is central to the authoritarian personality (R.T. 222). A research instrument, now standard in the social and psychological sciences, was developed by the investigators who conducted the studies in the authoritarian personality project, covering some seven years and 2,500 subjects. This measure of authoritarianism is called the "F" scale (R.T. 223). Persons scoring high on the "F" scale are referred to as extremely high on authoritarianism, their characteristics being those of rigidity and punitiveness. In a random sample or cross-section

of the population over 21, one would not find only authoritarian personality types, nor could a group made up entirely of authoritarian personalities represent a random sample or a cross-section of that population (Id.).

There are presently available three sets of quantitative psychological data bearing on the death qualified jury and the constitutional requirement of a representative and impartial jury. These studies were conducted by Doctors W. Cody Wilson, Robert Crosson and F. Goldberg (R.T. 178, testimony of Professor Zeisel; and, see, Witherspoon v. Illinois, supra, footnote 10, wherein the Supreme Court refers to the work of Zeisel, Wilson and Goldberg, on this point.)

Dr. Sanford testified here that the findings of Doctors Wilson and Crosson were consistent with his findings about the authoritarian personality (R.T. 219, 231).

Defendant offered affidavits of Drs. Wilson and Crosson (Defendant's Preliminary Hearing Exhibit I). (23) Said affidavits incorporated by reference the attached studies, i.e., Wilson's "Belief in Capital Punishment and Jury Performance" and Crosson's "An Investigation into Certain Personality Variables Among Capital Trial Jurors."

FOOTNOTE

23. The affidavits recited that affiants would testify to the contents thereof if funds were provided for their travel from the eastern United States; defendant testified that he had no funds (R.T. 253), and moved to introduce the affidavits or, in the alternative, to permit counsel to depose affiants in the East, or, in the alternative, for continuance until such time as these expert witnesses expected to be in the San Francisco Bay Area (August and September of 1968). All motions were denied (R.T. 333-34).

END FOOTNOTE

Dr. Wilson's affidavit set forth his findings, as follows:

"People who have scruples against capital punishment are less likely to say guilty than are people who believe in capital punishment; People who believe in capital punishment are more confident of their decisions of guilt and innocence than are people who have scruples against capital punishment; People who believe in capital punishment are likely to assess a more severe punishment -- even without the death penalty -- than are people who have scruples against capital punishment; People who believe in capital punishment are not only more likely to say guilty, they are also more sure that they are right in their decision; People who believe in capital punishment are more likely to be in favor of the prosecution than are people who have scruples against capital punishment."

Dr. Crosson's affidavit stated:

"Although a good deal of research has been done on the subject of the scrupled vs. non-scrupled juror with respect to capital punishment (Crosson's) research (was) unique in the use of samples drawn from actual juror populations. The results ... supported the contention that rightist authoritarians (conservatives) are significantly more prevalent among death qualified jurors ... Jurors with scruples against imposing the death penalty were better able to think critically and evaluate verbal arguments than death qualified jurors. The present system of jury selection for death or capital cases does not permit the full range of personalities in jury pools to have equal likelihood of selection on juries in capital cases."

g. PROSECUTION USE OF PEREMPTORY CHALLENGE TO EXCLUDE ALL BLACK PERSONS BUT ONE FROM TRAIL JURY, ALL BLACK PERSONS FROM ALTERNATES, AND ALL MEMBERS OF WEST OAKLAND'S BLACK GHETTO SUB-COMMUNITY FROM THE JURY.

The prosecutor peremptorily excused all black persons but one from the trial jury and all black persons from the four alternates. He thus peremptorily excused 11, or more than half of the total number of black persons examined. He peremptorily excused every single black person not otherwise excused, except for the one bank loan officer left on the trial jury (R.T. 665-66).

Defendant exhausted his peremptory challenges (R.T. 1317), and moved to discharge the entire jury panel and to establish eligibility for a new panel from the census tracts for the West Oakland ghetto (R.T. 1322, 1325). Defendant further moved for mistrial because of systematic exclusion of Negroes by use of peremptory challenge (R.T. 1324). Both motions were denied (R.T. 1341).

The addresses of the trial jurors were made part of the record (R.T. 1318, C.T. 327). These addresses are indicated by the twelve dots on the map of Alameda County following this page. (24) None of the twelve jurors resided in the heavily Negro or ghetto areas of Alameda County or in the defendant's own West Oakland ghetto area (Id.). Ten of the jurors, including the one Negro juror, lived in the areas which were less than 10% non-white. The remaining two jurors lived in areas which were 10-30% non-white. Not one juror resided in an area more than 30% non-white.

2. PREVALENCE OF WHITE RACISM AND PREJUDICE AGAINST NEGROES IN WHITE JURORS.

Defendant's trial took place in an extraordinary atmosphere of polarization between white governmental authorities and black ghetto communities. The governmental authorities issued continuing publicity detrimental to a depolarization (see IV, E 2, infra). Defendant was a recognized leader of many black people and a substantial number of white people concerned with the aspirations and problems in the black community, (25), yet his organization was continually excoriated in the white media.

A fair trial in a prosecution involving the alleged murder of a white police officer by a black militant leader, and the defense charge that the deceased officer was particularly brutal and oppressive to the black ghetto, and the broader setting of black-white relations in the summer of 1968, clearly required a jury selection process which would mini-

Contd. on Pg. 21



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Reprinted from "Sechaba," official organ of ANC. March 1969

"At the beginning of June, 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkonto We Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice."

--Nelson Mandela: in his speech during the Rivonia Trial, 1963-64.

South Africa

It is estimated that there are at least 10,000 political prisoners in South Africa. The extraordinary efforts made by the Fascist regime in South Africa to conceal the political character of detentions, arrests and trials, makes it difficult to obtain the exact number of political prisoners. Thousands of people arrested in remote areas, rural villages, farms and small towns are tried under conditions in which the outside world is not likely to learn the facts. Furthermore the plethora of politically-motivated laws and regulations in South Africa makes it difficult to know or infer the political significance of offences with which people are often tried. It is only when trials take place in the main towns or involve well known politicians that it becomes possible to get the full facts. Therefore the figure of 10,000 is likely to be a gross under-estimate. So many hundreds of thousands of Africans are arrested annually for so many different kinds of offences which have nothing to do with crime that statistics serve merely to conceal rather than explain events. In one instance in the Eastern Cape Province the number of arrests of members of the African National Congress was estimated at over 900. Subsequently it turned out that the actual figure was 1667 — almost double the original figure. In terms of South African prison laws there is only one category of prisoner. All people in prison are simply "convicts". There is no category of "political prisoners". This adds to the difficulty of isolating political prisoners from other prisoners. But there is no doubt that the numbers of prisoners is great and is rising steadily as the struggle for liberation develops.

Who Are The Prisoners

The expression "political prisoners" is a colourless label which does not reflect the kind of men and women who are in the hands of the oppressor-enemy. The political prisoners in our country include people drawn from every walk of life in South Africa. They include leaders of international reputation and humble peasants who have waged determined struggles for land and cattle. Among the prisoners are to be found lawyers, doctors, architects, writers, teachers, nurses, factory workers, farm labourers, trade unionists, students, housewives, taxi-drivers, businessmen. Each prisoner is an individual with gifts, often with a family, with aspirations and hopes. Such men as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are internationally renowned politicians. Bram Fischer is a world famous advocate. But there are others like Wilton Mkwayi — peasant born, unobtrusive, humorous leader of the underground army. South Africa has the highest proportion of executions in the world. Many of these are hangings of men who have fought for their freedom and rights.



NELSON MANDELA
POLITICAL PRISONER

Treatment Of Political Prisoners

Like everything else the treatment of prisoners in South Africa is racially motivated. White prisoners are treated better than non-white. Africans are treated the worst. And political prisoners are given specially harsh treatment thus reversing the trend in civilised countries where political prisoners are treated better than common criminals. The South African government argues that every prisoner in South African jails is just a criminal and they do not recognise the category of "political prisoners". Yet as a matter of policy political prisoners are treated markedly differently and worse than other prisoners and furthermore they are deprived of the privileges and rights of remission of sentence for good behaviour which other prisoners are entitled to. This makes obvious nonsense of the government's claim that it only recognises that people in prison are "convicts". Large numbers of political prisoners in South Africa have been imprisoned for conduct which was legal at the time it was performed. By passing retrospective legislation making illegal that which was legal when it was done the South African government has been able to imprison thousands from the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Communist Party.

The Dependants Of Prisoners

The numbers of prisoners and their individual suffering do not tell the whole story. For each prisoner there is a story of suffering, privation and loss on the part of parents, dependants and friends. In the Eastern Cape alone there are an estimated twenty-thousand dependants of political prisoners. These people are hounded by the police, subjected to questioning and searches at all hours of the day or night; victimised by employers and local authorities; and generally made to suffer by reason of their imprisoned relatives. In their drive to break the spirit of the people the fascists stop at nothing.

Preventive Detention

Among the chief instruments used against the people is the 180-Day law which enables the government to detain in prison innocent people for "questioning". The name "180-Day law" is a misnomer because the government can detain people for successive periods of 180 days, so there is no limit to the length of time a person can be detained. The tortures used to extract information from people detained under this law are already a byword in South Africa. The law is used not only to obtain information but also to intimidate people who are non-political through terror.

The finest of men and women are in the hands of the Fascists. It is of the utmost political importance to secure the release of political prisoners and save their lives.

World Campaign For The Release Political Prisoners

The International Solidarity Movement against Apartheid did remarkable work during the South African Treason Trial; the Rivonia trial and the Bram Fischer trial. There is no doubt that the great international campaigns waged around these trials was responsible for saving the lives of the people involved. But as long as there is a single political prisoner in South African jails the campaign must continue to expose the enormities of the South African regime and to demand that international standards be maintained in prisons and that people be released from imprisonment for political activities aimed at freedom and democracy of the people. The immediate perspective is one which can be expected to see a tremendous increase in the numbers of people imprisoned as the struggle develops. Today the figures are in the tens of thousands. Tomorrow we will be faced with hundreds of thousands in jails. Machinery must be created all over the world to give political and material assistance to prisoners in South Africa.



JOSHUA NKOMO
PRESIDENT OF ZAPU
POLITICAL PRISONER

SEE NEXT PAGE

FROM LAST PAGE

Zimbabwe

The situation in Zimbabwe is very similar to that in South Africa. Here again there are hundreds of people in prisons and thousands in detention. No reliance whatsoever can be placed in the ridiculous figures put out by the Ian Smith regime. Very sinister is the number of prisoners in the condemned cells awaiting execution in Zimbabwe. The illegal Smith regime has already executed freedom fighters and thus committed murder for which Ian Smith and others must eventually be punished by the people. There are over one hundred freedom fighters in the condemned cells in Zimbabwe. An important feature of the imprisonments occurring in Zimbabwe is the fact that many are armed and uniformed combatants belonging to the ZAPU and ANC liberation armies who are jointly prosecuting the struggle in Zimbabwe. Members of the ZAPU-ANC armed forces are treated as "criminals" when captured by the Ian Smith regime. In fact these men are entitled to the rights of prisoners-of-war in terms of International law. That is the demand of the liberation movement.

The treatment of people in the various detention camps such as Gonakudzingwa is deteriorating. Recently the condition of the leader of the people of Zimbabwe Joshua Nkomo has given rise to much concern. He has been moved from Gonakudzingwa and is being badly treated in the new camp. Vigorous protests against the ill-treatment of the people's leader is called for.

Namibia (South West Africa)

An unknown number of detainees is being held by the South African authorities following guerrilla activity in the Caprivi Strip where the Republic maintains a big air-force base. Their place of destination is unknown even to their close relatives. Last year 29 members of the South West African People's Organisation were sentenced either to life imprisonment or to twenty years imprisonment after a trial under the notorious "Terrorism Act" which had been illegally extended to Namibia. This case did serve to expose a case of torture which the South African authorities were unable to conceal or deny. One of the men was awarded damages of £1500 as a settlement out of court for injuries suffered as a result of tortures by the police.

Angola And Mozambique

Arbitrary arrests and imprisonment have for decades been the practice in the Portuguese Colonies. The Fascist instrument of terror - the PIDE - has arrested thousands of people in Angola and Mozambique. With the growth of guerrilla activity under the leadership of FRELIMO and MPLA the Portuguese have now greatly increased the practice of retaliation against innocent villagers as a punishment for alleged support of the freedom movement. The influx of approximately 3,000 refugees into Botswana recently was due to these retaliation expeditions by the Portuguese Army.

Independent African states such as Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland will inevitably receive a large number of refugees from the countries under white minority rule. For that reason the policies pursued by these countries towards the liberation movements is a matter of grave concern. In particular the extradition arrangements and treaties concluded by these countries with South Africa are in many cases to the disadvantage of refugees both in law and in fact. It is the duty of the International community to see that the rights of political refugees are protected in Southern Africa.

Immediate Demands

The liberation movements make the following minimum demands: -

1. The implementation of the October 1963 resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations calling for the release of all South African political prisoners.
 2. The implementation of the United Nations resolutions declaring the South West trial illegal and demanding the release of all prisoners and their return to Namibia.
 3. The establishment of conditions for prisoners conforming to international standards and in particular the granting of their proper rights and privileges to prisoners arrested for political reasons.
 4. The immediate removal from the condemned cells and from imprisonment of all prisoners held by the Smith regime as alleged "terrorists". The implementation of the rules of international law regarding prisoners of war to Freedom Fighters.
 5. Regular twice-yearly visits to all political prisoners and detainees by international organisations.
 6. An end to racial discrimination in prisons especially with regard to food, clothing and health conditions.
- The World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners with headquarters in London was formed in 1963 to work for the implementation of the United Nations resolution. It has campaigned on all issues affecting political prisoners in Southern Africa with the support of the African National Congress and other liberation movements. This organisation deserves full support from progressive movements all over the world.

NEWS



BRIEFS

Vietnam

Although the Nixon administration continues to escalate its bacteriological and chemical warfare against the people of Vietnam, the PLAF continues to inflict heavy losses upon the U.S. Forces.... The Green Beret Storm Troopers, brought up on charges of killing a Vietnamese bootlicker, are using tactics perfected by their state-side fascist counterparts to arrive at the same old conclusion -- justifiable homicide.... The alleged move to bring large numbers of troops home is showing itself to be the same old shell game and razzle dazzle, as the draft is being felt harder than ever in Blackghettos.... Most American prisoners released by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam seem to disappear from sight. Popular opinion is that they have had their eyes opened and might spread the word (See Ramparts Magazine, August, 1969). It will be interesting to see what happens to the recent returnees....

Angola

With the joining together of several smaller groups, the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was born in December 1956 (in response to the need to escalate the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.) Since the beginning of armed struggle in 1961 there has been a steady growth in the armed forces for liberation. Inspired by events in nearby Congo (K) the liberation fighters in the northern sector of the country set the pace in armed struggle, with the south following suit in 1966.

Though they have been plagued by problems of logistics, communications, transportation, and U.S. sponsored tribalism, they are facing the problems head on and the liberated territory is growing in size and strength. The Portuguese are supported by other pigs from NATO and there are United States officers and troops from South Africa among the Portuguese pigs. Many tactics including "strategic hamlets" and chemical warfare have been imported from Vietnam by the Portuguese. Like the valiant Vietnamese Freedom Fighters, they do not look forward to quick victory but are dedicating themselves to eventual victory no matter how long it takes.

FROM AL FAT'H

The Palestine National Liberation Movement Al-Fat'h, does not wish to solve the Palestinian problem by creating a "Jewish" one. However, it will not accept peace at the expense of the Palestinian people. . . .

Therefore . . . "We declare, that our objective is the unconditional right of all Palestinians to return to their land and live in a unified democratic state, without hegemony in which all Palestinians will enjoy equal rights, irrespective of race, language or religion."

Excerpt from the Statement of Policy of AL-FAT'H

Int'l Glossary

OSPAAAL: Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Tricontinental: Theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL. Printed in Cuba.

Al Fat'h: Palestine National Liberation Movement (Palestine)

ANC: African National Congress (South Africa)

FRELIMO: Front for the Liberation of Mozambique.

MPLA: Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola

PAIGC: African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. (Guinea Bissau)

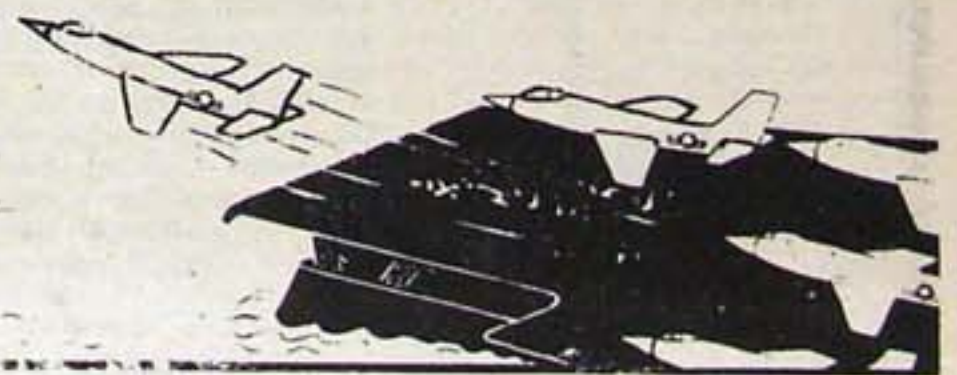
SWAPO: South West African Peoples Organization (Namibia)

ZAPU: Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (Rhodesia)

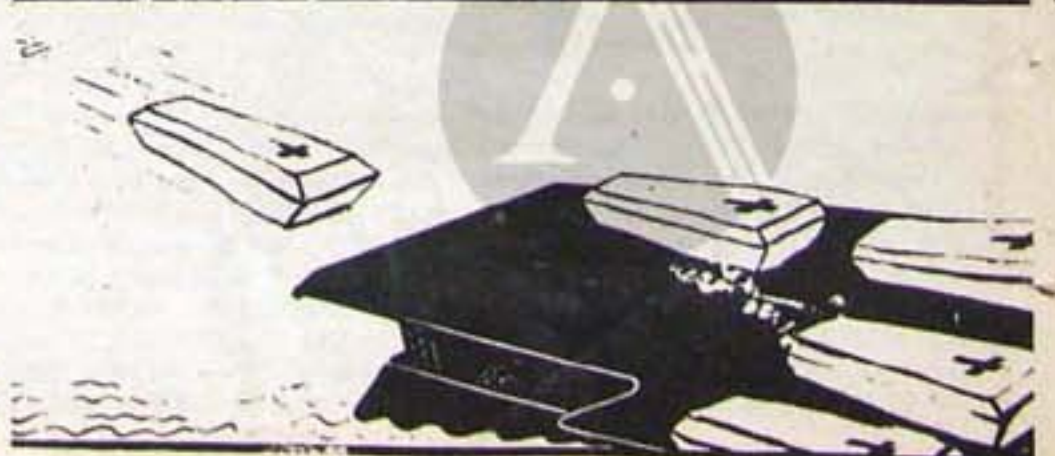
DRV: Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Al-Assifa: The military wing of Al Fat'h.

Umkonto We Sizwe: The Spear of the Nation. Military arm of ANC



NIXON'S FOLLIES



Next Week - special
on GUINEA BISSAU

ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) + IMPERIALISM = FASCISM

By Field Marshall, D.C.

The Zionist fascist state of Israel is a puppet and lackey of the imperialist and must be smashed. Reparations must be made to all the displaced people, all the people who were forced to flee and abandon their homes and homeland by demagoguery (lying and deceiving) and terror (fascism). All of the property stolen by the Zionists with their fascist storm troopers headed by Moshe Dyan and the aid they received from the imperialist must be returned to the people of Palestine!

Victory to the people's struggle
struggle of Palestine!

Victory to Al-Fat'h!

Victory to Al-Assifa!

To those of you who are still reading after my opening statements, I will run down why what the Zionists and the state of Israel did and are doing to the Arabs can be and is equated to what the Nazis did to the Jews.

During the 19th century, national consciousness began to rise among the Arab people and they began to strive to liberate their country from Ottoman rule. The Ottomans had occupied the Arab world for over 600 years. As in any type of colonial situation, this kept the Arab world underdeveloped and ignorant. While the Arab revolutionary movement was underway, the torture and persecution of Jewish minorities in Czarist Russia was underway and many Jews sought refuge in the Holy Land. They were welcomed much in the same manner as the native Americans welcomed the pilgrims. In 1914 when the Arab people revolted against Ottoman rule, the Jewish population of Palestine was not over 50,000. The Arab people put all of their time and energy into the revolt against the Ottoman rule.

After a long and arduous struggle against occupation, the day of victory dawned. Instead of en-

joying their victory and being able to explore their valiantly won independence, they discovered that Britain (an imperialist b---, who had pretended to be their friend and even offered support to them as an ally) along with the French made an agreement to divide the Arab world between themselves (imperialist pigs). The imperial-

ists needed the Middle East as a staging place on the route to Asia, and with the construction of the Suez Canal, this cut down the time and cost of trading with Asia. Also it's important to note that imperialism increased a thousand times when oil was discovered at the turn of this century. In addition to this, Britain managed to have herself recognized as the guardian for Palestine, supposedly until the Palestinian people "became" able to govern themselves. They also discovered that back in August of 1897, a meeting had been held in Basle, Switzerland called by Theodore Herzl, a Jew, and that a new enemy of Palestine and of the Arab world had been created. It's name, ZIONISM! Now, Zionism is nothing more than negative, backward, reactionary nationalism -- Jewish nationalism, Kosher nationalism. The philosophy of Zionism is reactionary nationalism and separatism. The contradiction at that time was that there was no Jewish nation, no Jewish state. It's logical then that the program of Zionism was to create a Jewish state. Herzl, the father of Kosher nationalism, was determined to create the Jewish state in Palestine. In 1903 the British government offered an area in Uganda to the Zionist organization. However, the seventh Zionist congress in 1905 rejected any colonization outside Palestine and its neighboring countries. In 1917 while the Arabs were involved in their struggle against the Ottoman's rule, British imperialism made a deal with Zionism. This was in the form of a declaration by Britain's foreign secretary, Lord Balfour. The declaration basically said that Britain would facilitate the setting up of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. This was the basis for the subsequent Zionist claim to the right of entry into Palestine. British and Zionist pigs, sitting up in Europe somewhere, decided this without the consent and also without consulting the Palestinian people. Whereas the Arabs' former struggle was against the Ottomans and was for freedom, their renewed struggle was against the British-Zionist alliance and was for survival. British motives were for control of the land and the Zionist motive was to occupy the land. The target for both was the people of Palestine.

This basically is the root of the problem: two alien pigs joining hands -- British imperialism and Zionism. The only choice for the Palestinian people was to take up arms. Several times the Arab people revolted, especially in 1929, 1936 and 1939, claiming the right of self determination and demanding the preservation of Palestine as an Arab homeland.

In the 1930's, fascism (using demagoguery, terror and racism) reared its head with insane pig Adolf Hitler. All the atrocities and attempted genocide against the Jewish people under German fascism are history and are common knowledge. What is not common knowledge is the fascism used by the Zionists to seize and maintain control over Palestine.

Prior to World War II and the slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews, the Zionists did not have wide support for their plans for Palestine. In fact, Britain had reneged on the Balfour declaration. Also the British had restrictions on the number of immigrants allowed. From 1939 to 1944, Jewish immigration was to be limited to 75,000 after which it was to cease unless the Palestinian Arabs, on the

part of the Zionists, broke out against the British occupying Palestine. At first, they were allowed to immigrate freely, but it developed into what the Zionists called a fight for independence. In the meantime, due to the slaughter of millions of Jews in Europe during World War II, Zionism was embraced by world Jewry, especially in the United States. In 1942, a Zionist conference in New York City demanded the establishment of a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine and unlimited Jewish immigration. At the same time, Arabs throughout the Middle East intensified their demands for the right to self-determination. Frustrated and vacillating, Britain submitted the case of Palestine to Anglo-U.S. discussion for a solution and later to the U.N. Finally, on November 29, 1947, the UN proposed that Palestine be partitioned into two states: an Arab state and a Jewish state, and that Jerusalem itself would be internationalized.

It was at this point in history that the Zionists launched their fascist campaign against the Arabs in Palestine. The Zionists say the Arabs left Palestine spontaneously and due to the propaganda call of Arab leaders. An objective examination of history reveals otherwise. A conversation between a British office of the Jordan Arab

bee, the British historian described the massacre as "comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis." Menachem Beigin, the dog that led the attack, said, "The massacre was not only justified but there would not have been a state of Israel without the victory at Deir Yassin." After the massacre, the Zionist underground forces roamed the streets of cities using loud speakers warning the Arab inhabitants, "The road to Jericho is still open, and remember Deir Yassin." They told the Jerusalem Arabs, "Fly from Jerusalem before you are killed." This is enough evidence to show that the Arabs did not leave Palestine spontaneously. Nathan Chofshi, a Jewish immigrant from Russia who arrived in Palestine in 1908 in the same group with Ben Gurion said in a rebuttal to an American Zionist rabbi's assertions that "If Rabbi Kaplan really wanted to know what happened, we old Jewish settlers in Palestine who witnessed the flight could tell him how and in what manner we Jews forced the Arabs to leave the cities of Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Beer Sheva, and Acre from among innumerable others. Here was a people who lived in its own land for 1300 years. We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And still we dare to

worsen.

The UN is powerless to do anything but pass empty resolutions. It is not in the interest of the imperialists to do anything but to continue to arm both sides and keep the Arabs and Jews fighting each other. If the problem of the Zionists was not occupying the time of the Arab world, it is a good possibility that they would make a move to put an end to monopoly capitalist exploitation of the oil resources of the Middle East. The Persian Gulf area produced 27% of the world's petroleum and has proved global reserves of 60%. American firms have a gross investment in the region of more than \$23 billion. U.S. firms control more than 60% Middle East oil, while British firms control under 30%. Due to the low cost of production and low wages paid the profits on Mid-East oil are astronomical. The Wall Street Journal March 14, 1966 stated that the 1965 pre-tax profits of Aramco (which controls the total output of Saudi Arabia) amounted to 85% on sales as against an average of less than 10% for all U.S. manufacturing corporations. There is not other investment anywhere which offers U.S. monopoly capital such phenomenal returns as does Middle East oil. However, the spirit of the people is greater than the man's tech-



Arab victim of Zionist Napalm.

Legion Glubb Pasha, and a Palestine government Jewish official reveals the intention of the Zionist plans. Glubb asked the government official whether the new Jewish state would not have many internal troubles in view of the fact that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish state would be equal in number to the Jews. He said, "Oh, No! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them." This rhetoric was backed up by a deliberate and unprovoked attack on the village of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948. The fascist Zionist pigs not only killed, but stripped, butchered, and mutilated over 250 old men, women and children. Historically this particular event is important because the Zionists justified massacre of Deir Yassin, led to the panic flight of the remaining Arabs in the "Jewish" state. Arnold Toyn-

slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and trying to undo some of the evil we committed by helping those unfortunate refugees, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."

At the end of this particular reign of terror, the state of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948 and was immediately recognized by the U.S. Armistice lines were negotiated under UN auspices giving Israel approximately one third more territory than provided by the UN resolution. So, 50 years after the first Zionist congress and 30 years after the Balfour declaration, Zionism achieved its aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

Now, 20 years later and after 3 wars, the conditions of the Palestinian people has continued to

worsen. Imperialism and its lackeys are in their death throws. Capitalism, imperialism, and their running dogs, Kosher nationalism, pork chop nationalism, taco nationalism, all reactionaries are doomed. They are going against the grain of history. They are trying to block the road of history and they will be run down. When we examine history objectively, we see continuous development from a lower to a higher level. Any views of inertia, complacency or pessimism are all wrong. Therefore, the progressive people, the have-nots, the revolutionary people of the world, can embrace the fact that capitalism will be replaced by socialism and this is independent of whether you like it or not.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

joying their victory and being able to explore their valiantly won independence, they discovered that Britain (an imperialist b---, who had pretended to be their friend and even offered support to them as an ally) along with the French made an agreement to divide the Arab world between themselves (imperialist pigs). The imperial-

Contd. from Pg. 15

HUEY'S APPEAL

mize, if not eliminate, racial bias against the defendant.

In support of his pre-trial motion for continuance because of the continuing prejudicial governmental publicity and the prevailing white racism in the majority white community, defendant submitted a brief amicus curiae signed by some of the most distinguished of the social scientists at the University of California (C.T. 168, et seq. Signatories from the Department of Sociology included Jan Dizard, Ph.D., Assistant Professor; Troy Duster, Ph.D., Lecturer; Nathan Glazer, Ph.D., Professor; William Kornhauser, Ph.D., Professor; Leo Lowenthal, Ph.D., Professor; Philippe Nonet, Ph.D., Assistant Professor; Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Ph.D., Associate Professor; and Sheldon Messinger, from the Department of Sociology and Vice-Chairman of the Center for the Study of Law and Society.)

FOOTNOTE

(25) Over 29,000 persons petitioned the trial court, on September 27, 1968, to grant defendant probation so that he could be free to continue his work in the community. The petition stated:

"We, the undersigned, believe Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party and candidate for United States Congress, Peace and Freedom Party, to be an honest, dedicated, loyal and selfless human being who has devoted and is devoting his life and his talents to the liberation of black people. We recognize that Huey P. Newton is deeply needed in the community and deserves to be free to continue his important work. He is highly respected by the people in the community, both black and white, who feel that the profound and unique contribution to black liberation Huey P. Newton can make would be a powerful asset to the community. We feel that the community would suffer a tremendous and irreparable loss if Huey P. Newton (cannot) be using his talents to serve the people in the community. . . ." (R.T. 3929-30).

END FOOTNOTE

These professors, many of them consultants to federal and state commissions and agencies on problems of race and urban relations, concurred with the conclusion of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Kerner Report), that America was, in the words of the Kerner Report, a "racist society." The brief set forth, as did the testimony of Professor Robert Blauner, Ph.D., that subsumed under the phrase "racist society" are two facts which stand out as especially important in the context of defendant's trial (C.T. 168):

"(1) many white Americans hold prejudicial attitudes toward Negroes and (2) this prejudice is not superficially held and easily thrown off but, rather, suffuses many individuals' consciousnesses to the point where such attitudes are not necessarily recognized by these individuals."

The brief also set forth, as did the testimony of Professor Blauner and of Dr. Bernard Diamond, the extreme difficulty and often the impossibility of uncovering and identifying these prejudices through conventional voir dire techniques (C.T. 171-72):

"A further difficulty in testing for prejudice relates more specifically to the courtroom context. Prejudice against Negroes is no longer publicly acceptable to most people in this society. Even those

who are self-defined white supremacists have been ingenious in discovering euphemisms that allow them to discuss their views in public in ways that disguise their real meaning.

"Given what we now know about the pervasiveness and subtlety of prejudice toward Negroes in America, we question whether the voir dire, as conventionally conceived and traditionally used, is adequate any longer to the task of identifying enmity or bias toward black defendants among prospective jurors. We particularly question its adequacy when the black defendant in question, like Huey P. Newton, lives in a style and deports himself in a manner different from the white majority, is openly committed to militant, although legal, political activism, and is accused of an inter-racial crime, especially one involving white law enforcement officers."

This court may take judicial notice of the findings of the Kerner Report (part of the record on appeal herein, C.T. 103), documenting the pervasive white racism and attitudes of prejudice toward Negroes, and the implications of the vote in California and in Alameda County on Proposition 13 (set forth at C.T. 105), indicating that approximately two-thirds of white Californians have some prejudicial attitudes toward Negroes. The United States Supreme Court, striking down Proposition 13, in *Reitman v. Mulkey*, 387 U.S. 369, 87 S. Ct. 1627 (1967), held that the state could not protect or offer subtle official encouragement to discrimination by its citizens.

Dr. Bernard Diamond, forensic psychiatrist (R.T. 303-04), testified that white racism affects the perceptions, judgment and behavior of a white person (R.T. 306): "White racism is a prejudicial attitude in which one has certain preconceived stereotyped ideas, attitudes towards another person which very definitely affects the observer, the racist observers, inferences, conclusions, and in the type of judgments he is likely to make about the person of another race. He is less likely to be fair, objective, and well-balanced in his conclusions, less likely to be logical in his inferences."

Dr. Diamond testified that it is almost always impossible to weed out the white racist who has a prejudgment on a black person through ordinary courtroom questioning (R.T. 308-09):

"It is most always true. It may even be to the point where one is getting a negative effect. In general, in terms of attitudes, one makes a distinction between conscious attitudes and unconscious attitudes. Attitudes which the individual is aware of and attitudes of which he is not aware. And it is very likely in my opinion that the ordinary type of interrogation of a prospective juror has a negative effect in that the person who denies racist attitudes and says, 'No, I will be fair' may actually be less likely to be fair than the person who says, 'Yes, I do have prejudices' because such a person can consciously cope with his prejudicial attitudes, make allowances for them and to negate them in his own mind. The person who denies such attitudes may not be able to do that."

"And so I'd say at best, the questioning is not very revealing of a person's true attitudes, and at worst it may inadvertently result in the selection of prejudiced jurors."

TWO MEDICAL
POINTS OF VIEW
EXPOSED

In response to comrade Pam's article in the August 9, 1969 issue of the Black Panther, I wish to point out, sister, that you are very wrong in some of your views. I am a nurse and a member of the Black Panther Party. And before becoming a member I worked hard and spent many hours working as a friend of the Panthers. There are plenty of others in the medical profession who aren't like the people you speak of. You must not work in this field or else you would realize how these conditions upset us who are really and truly dedicated to our work.

The conditions you speak of in our hospitals are true. But we few who are really working to help the people are so few. We can't fight the whole medical profession alone.

You stated, "The doctors, nurses, hospitals, pharmacies, and all the lot are not the health service of America; they are the death racket." Well, do you call us who work in the Black Panther Party Free Health Clinics and we who are of the medical profession fascists? We are not running rackets; we spend long hard hours trying to serve the people. I think you realize that a lot of the people who read your article and who need medical attention are afraid of the medical profession and might not seek it.

The people must have good health in order to function properly. The people must have good health to be in good spirits. The poor and oppressed people need hospitals, medical care, and teachings on the

I agree we must end medical fascism. But we must not confuse the people and say, "all nurses and doctors", because when we who are working for the people will lose the faith and trust of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Sister Eleanor, Panther-in-Training
K.C. chapter, Black Panther Party



Liberation Schools raise education to a higher level.

STATEN
ISLAND
LIBERATION
SCHOOL

The Liberation School for the Staten Island Branch of the Black Panther Party started on August 11, 1969 in the rear of the branch office. There were 21 children attending on the opening day of class. Also, there were others who came in after school had begun; they were standing outside and heard the enthusiasm of the young people already inside. The ages of the children ranged from 7 to 12 with the academic capacity to understand and explain the roots and essence of a peoples' revolution. These young brothers and sisters accept the fact that they must practice socialism to survive in the entrenchment of the ghettos.

Their program begins at 9:00 a.m. in the morning with exercise and games. Then at 10:00 a.m. they get a snack of milk and donuts. By 10:15 they begin class with "Free Huey". At 12:00 they get lunch with a different menu each day. At the end of class they take Panther Papers and literature home to add to their variety of revolutionary materials for the purpose of studying Panther ideology.

All Power to the Youth
Free Huey
Free All Political Prisoners

Charles Roberts, Field Lt.
Staten Island Black Panther Party

UNITED FRONT
AGAINST
FASCISM
IN KANSAS

The Black Panther Party of Kansas City, Missouri sponsored a rally in Wichita, Kansas on the United Front Against Fascism. On the 9th of August, our Deputy Chairman, Pete O'Neal; Deputy Minister of Education, Keith Hinch; and Tommy Robinson, Deputy Minister of Labor, and Panther Archie Simmons from Des Moines, Iowa Chapter of the Black Panther Party spoke on American Fascism. I was moderator. We had a crowd of about 200 people on hand in addition to two pigs wearing Free Huey buttons. As a matter of fact, they were two porkchops from Kansas City. Hog Kelly sent them to Wichita just to see what was going on. But brother Pete got on their case very bad, and they left with two fellow squealers from the FBI.

Our main concern was to get the word over to the people, i.e. how the city of Wichita has been taken over and has now become a fascist city; how the pigs control it; and how the people do not have any power to say or do anything. The only way to gain control now is to support the United Front Against Fascism in Wichita and fight along with the Front. All the people must join in the struggle against the capitalist oppressor!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Captain Henry Finley
Black Panther Party
Kansas City, Mo.
Chapter

Motor City Nine, Not Women's Liberation but Women's Deterioration

The recent article in a certain underground newspaper, "SDS-New Left Notes - The Fire Next Time", Volume 4 number 27, entitled "MOTOR CITY NINE" is an example of how the general movement towards WOMEN'S LIBERATION can be co-opted, distorted and in the general, used to further the desires of some individuals to gain attention and at the most a flash of notoriety. In essence, their actions are a theatrical stunt in substitution of serious struggle to eliminate male chauvinism.

The MOTOR CITY NINE invaded a final exam session at Mecomb College, and demanded that the students listen undividedly to their rhetoric. When students (male) attempted to leave in disgust they attacked them using Karate (hardly a way to win them over).

These pseudo FREEDOM FIGHTERS by using antagonistic methods to air their grievances against male chauvinism unfortunately heighten the contradictions between men and women in this society.

Apparently they rapped about the Black Panther Party and it would be interesting to learn their specific references as their tactics certainly didn't reflect any understanding of Party Program or Principles. If they had a minimal understanding behind the real issues of women's liberation struggle, they would have been more responsible in dealing with the problem. Instead, by abstractly talking about their actions could only have had a negative influence on the people they were trying to relate to.

The article claims that women's liberation will come "when women act, not only around the issues of women's liberation, but when they act on other issues as well." This is correct in theory, but their practice was "anti-men". Physical force and coercion is not the way to deal with contradictions among the people.

They repeatedly mentioned the Vietnamese women's participation in the struggle, but we hardly think that the Vietnamese women resorted to theatrics and gimmicks to gain their liberation. On the contrary, their serious struggle in life and death situations hardly allows for such disunifying tactics.

Women in the Black Panther Party can only view such actions perpetrated by the MOTOR CITY NINE as reactionary and as a backward step in resolving very serious problems between men and women. We view our struggle as real and too serious to be played with. We also see the necessity for unity in order to achieve liberation in any form of fashion.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Panther Sisters

Contd. from Pg. 9

ARM YOURSELF OR HARM YOURSELF

merica where she belongs--in her grave!

The people of America must not fall prey to bourgeois propaganda that spouts madness like, "The only way to gain your freedom, oink, is through peaceful methods: education, vote blocks, poor peoples' marches....." And when this fails and the people start to see through the tricks and lies, the President comes on TV, nationwide, and oinks, "Nothing can be done. Trust in your President." Bulls--t! What we must do is follow the courageous example set forth by the Vietnamese people and their just struggle for liberation. And that is to pick up the gun

and not yield a single inch to the oppressor! Only with the death of fascist America can we be free.

The Black Panther Party has viewed the conditions here in America objectively and come to the conclusion that you have two choices: ARM YOURSELF, OR HARM YOURSELF!

You shall die, America; there is no doubt. But the immenseness of your death will stagger the imagination of those who see you go!

Power to the People
Long Live the Vanguard Party
Rory Hithe
Political Prisoner

MORE PIG PROVOCATION IN SACRAMENTO

Last week the pigs made another move to try to separate the Brown and Black brothers of Sacramento, but again, the people showed they are stronger than the provocateurs that try to divide them.

The issue was the poverty funds that the government likes to use to get communities to fight each other. This money pits the Brown and Black communities against each other for the pitiful scraps the man throws out. At a heated meeting of the E.O.C. board, fighting broke out between Brown Berets and a group called the Black Souls. The Black Souls are a group of street brothers led by a 43 year old hustler named George Choung. He is one of those dogs who agitates and agitates the people and when the fighting starts, he just sits back and watches.

As the meeting started to break up because of the fight, several shots were fired into the crowd. Two Black brothers were injured. The fighting continued into the next day with antagonism between Blacks and Browns growing stronger every minute. At this point the Black Panther Party and Los Siete, having heard about this through the system's radio, went up to Sacramento to see what we could do to keep our brothers from fighting each other. Los Siete met with the Berets, while the Black



George Choung

Panther Party talked to brothers from the Black Souls. On Friday, August 15, a press conference showing the unity of the Brown Berets, Los Siete, the Black Panther Party and some members of the Black Souls was held.

The press statements related to the decadence of the poverty programs and the use of provocateurs like George Choung to divide the people. Even the Black Souls denounce George Choung and expose him for what he is -- an exploiter and enemy of the people. Each statement also related who the real enemies of the people are -- the avaricious businessmen and the lying demagogic politician. When Brown and Black fight each other, they are doing the man's job for him. When we unite, that is what he is afraid of.

Things are not cool yet in Sacramento. But the brothers are moving on the enemies of the people, exposing them to the masses, educating the people to the nature of their oppression. Los Siete will support any coalition which moves the people closer to "la cause," which functions for the good of the masses. The Sacramento, Berets and Panthers are getting themselves together to defeat the man in a true revolutionary way.

MORE PIGS IN PHILADELPHIA BLACK COMMUNITY

State Senator Herbert Arlene (D., Phila.) announced Tuesday in Harrisburg he has told Philadelphia police officials to reassign more than 60 policemen from their off-street duties to foot patrol of the Columbia Ave. section of North Philadelphia.

His statement was the result of a meeting Monday with a group of North Philadelphia businessmen, State Rep. Mitchell W. Melton (D., Phila.) and police officials.

He said the meeting was called to hear complaints of vandalism and public outbursts in the area which the complainants charged they were not getting adequate protection.

Police Inspector Henry Mercer and Capt. Donald Cavette told the meeting the number of patrol cars in the 22d and 23d Wards was increased from 14 to 52.

Arlene said it was expected that 400 men would be added to the police force after the July 1 opening of the fiscal year.

He said he was informed by city officials that more money is needed to increase protective measures in the area.

Arlene said the lack of money is not a sufficient explanation. He said the condition could be alleviated along Columbia Ave., by cutting the assignment of 60 police to the District Attorney's Office and the number of patrolmen assigned to Traffic Court.

NEW JERSEY COMMITTEES TO COMBAT FASCISM

Friends,

FASCISM: The power of finance capital itself, is running amuck in America. It is important that all American people and Black people in particular recognize fascism for what it is:

- 1) The avaricious (greedy, exploiting) businessmen,
- 2) The demagogue (lying, deceiving, "law and order") politicians,
- 3) The fascist, racist (brutalizing, murdering, terrorizing) pig cops.

It became obvious with the frame-up and arrest of the New York 21, Connecticut 8, Jersey City 3 (Isiah Rowley, Charles Hichs, Victor Perez) and numerous other political prisoners' arrests. Panthers have been attacked on almost a day-to-day basis. These barbaric attacks are not confined to Panthers alone. When gas was sprayed from helicopters on the students in Berkeley, California this too was a clear example of fascism.

Fascism moves to destroy all opposition to capitalism, racism, and imperialism. The bestial head of fascism has emerged outright and is stampeding all across this country.

At the present, the Black Panther Party is developing National Committees to Combat Fascism which we are moving to establish across the country on state and local city levels. New Jersey, being very fascist, we here find it extremely vital and necessary to develop and organize a New Jersey State Committee to Combat Fascism.

A STATE-WIDE CONFERENCE will take place in the near future--before it's too late. We call upon all interested individuals and groups to contact the Black Panther Party, Jersey City Branch for further information on fascism and information on the New Jersey Conference to Combat Fascism.

All Power to the People
Lt. of Information
David Williams
Jersey City Branch, B.P.P.
384 Pacific Ave.
Tel: (201) 432-3725

VALLEJO BLACK POLITICIANS CONSPIRE AGAINST PANTHERS

It has been approximately three weeks since local tyrants such as the Mel Thompson, McGrue, and the Country Club Crest Improvement Association clique, along with local political pigs, put the pressure on for the Black Panther Party in Vallejo to move out of that community. The Party has now opened up in the new territory of South Vallejo, although we have not alienated ourselves from C.C.C. Last week the Party opened its campaign to further our efforts to serve the people. Several members of the Party went from block to block and house to house to ask the occupants of the Black Colonies of South Vallejo and C.C.C. what they were in need of. In C.C.C. the main issues were fire alarm boxes (the area doesn't have one) and stop lights leading from the community to the highway. In South Vallejo the people wanted a fence around a cesspool which is supposed to be

a lake, in which a six-year old drowned. The Party said right on. The pigs are uptight because the community is saying that the Black Panther Party is going forth with something outside of the high-handed rhetoric and demagoguery that the pig politicians have been putting down for so many years. Naturally the pigs had to get up tight. Now they have put pressure on the landlord, and consequently she has given us five days to move out. But we are saying we will serve the people if we have to set up offices in the nearest phone booth. And we will do it. We will have a fence around the lake, if we have to do it ourselves. And we will not rest until the community and the people have their desires and needs met.

Power to the People
Jymbo
Black Panther Party
Vallejo Branch

CALIFORNIA CITY COUNCILMAN DRAWS GUN ON WORKER

Charles Brown, a worker for the Coca Cola Co., called the Black Panther Party to report a case in which a Richmond, California City Councilman threatened his life with a gun. The Richmond pigs refused to arrest the Councilman. Brown reported that the Councilman told him to get his truck out of a driveway. It was found out later that it was not even his driveway. The brother moved the truck out of the way. Then, the Councilman began to harass the brother, saying he did not know how to drive, etc. The brother continued to do his work. The Councilman followed him into the store. While the brother was delivering the Colas, the Councilman told him that he didn't pick up the empty bottles last week. The brother finally said, "Look

here motherfucker, leave me alone. I'll talk to you when I'm through." The Councilman pulled a gun on him. The brother said, "Look, fool, that little gun does not scare me," trying to get the attention of the people in the store. The Councilman noticed this, and put the gun away. Not knowing what else to do, the brother called the Richmond Pig Department. He told the pigs that he wanted the Councilman arrested for pulling a gun on him.

Pig badge number 48 stated that he couldn't arrest the Councilman, because he knew him.

In fascist America, the workers have no rights, not even the right to have his life free of threats and intimidation by stupid pigs from all levels of American strata. BIG MAN

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS FROM PRISON

He was in New York, because one of the Party members there called me up prior to my travel to Connecticut for the Yale University speaking engagement. I was only in Connecticut a number of hours.

INTERVIEWER:

That was on the 19th of May? CHAIRMAN: Yes. The 19th of May and then back on the plane again. I was headed for another speaking engagement in fact. But we shifted planes when we got to Kennedy International Airport on the way back, because someone had sent a message out that we shouldn't go to Eugene, Oregon which was where I was supposed to go because some people had blew up the building I was supposed to speak in up there. And we decided to go to San Francisco to figure out whether or not we would continue on to Eugene, Oregon. But two weeks prior to this particular travel, someone had called. One of the brothers back there had called and said "Who is this George Sams?" He cussed me out." And I said, "I don't know." I said, "What the heck is he doing back there?" I said, "What are you talking about -- he's cussing you out?" And he said, "Well, this George Sams has just cussed me out." And so I said, "Well I'll check with somebody and see who it is." And I must have told somebody around there to check on New York, George Sams or George somebody. (They called him Detroit George, that's what it was) was out there. He



cussed somebody out. So I told somebody to straighten that out. And that's about it that I can relate off hand. There are other legal factors. We're asking a lot of people; we need a lot of donations. And we're starting a national fund drive for the Black Panther Party and the political prisoners who function and work with the National Committees to Combat Fascism. It's a fund drive of half a million dollars.

INTERVIEWER: There's a problem Bobby, we can't talk about funds over non-commercial radio. There's an FCC ruling against it.

CHAIRMAN: Okay, then if that's the way we talk about it, we will not talk about funds. There is going to be a campaign, though, for defense etc. and the necessities for defense. There'll be a lot of people, and there's going to be a worker's picnic coming up at Arroyo Park in East Oakland that they might be able to attend.

But other than that, Power to All the People. Power to All the People. We're not even saying "Black Power" any more because it's been co-opted by the Nixon administration, and the capitalists and the Black capitalists. And we're not exploiters of any kind. So we just say, Power to All the People, and liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country. And let's keep the movement as one movement and stop compartmentalizing. So other than that, thank you very much.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you Bobby and I hope I see you in the August sunshine.

Chairman Bobby Seale interviewed by Denny Smithson, Radio Station KPFA Public Affairs Department. At the San Francisco County Jail 8-25-69, 1:00p.m.

